

*Freedom of Information*

*and*

*Privacy Acts Release of*

*Subject: Luis Munoz-Marin*

*File #: 100-5745*

*Section 1*



*Federal Bureau of Investigation*

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.  
November 13, 1940

Mr. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Foxworth  
Mr. Nathan  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Miss Gandy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: LUIS MUNOZ MARIN

Dear Sir:

Special Agent J. CLARK NEWSOM has informed me that a reliable informant [redacted] has advised him confidentially that Senor LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, of Puerto Rico, reputedly the ranking official of the Communist Party in the West Indies and the Caribbean Sea area, is shortly scheduled to visit this country as the house guest of Mrs. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT at the White House.

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

100-5745-1  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

As the result of alleged unfair legislation in the Puerto Rican legislature against [redacted]

DEC 4 1940

[redacted] has conducted a full and comprehensive investigation into the activities of Senor LUIS MUNOZ MARIN and his associates, who recently were successful in the election for seats in the Puerto Rican Senate; and is in a position to furnish valuable information relevant to these activities to the FBI. However, it is urged that no contact be made with the said [redacted] unless same is deemed advisable by the Bureau, and not until arrangements can be made to this end through Special Agent NEWSOM'S confidential informant [redacted]; the consent of [redacted] to an interview can be obtained and should be obtained previous to contacting him.

67C

FIVE

Very truly yours,

*Guy Hotel*

GUY HOTTEL  
Special Agent in Charge

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 bja/PANU  
ON 3-9-00  
446101

JCN:LEB

Rec'd 11-26-40  
KRM

*Don*

745-1  
CORDED

KRM:NTP

November 30, 1940

Special Agent in Charge  
Washington, D. C.

Re: LUIS MUNOZ MARIN

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter dated November 13, 1940 in the above entitled matter.

b7c The Bureau deems it highly advisable to obtain all information of a pertinent character in possession of [REDACTED] concerning Luis Munoz Marin and his associates.

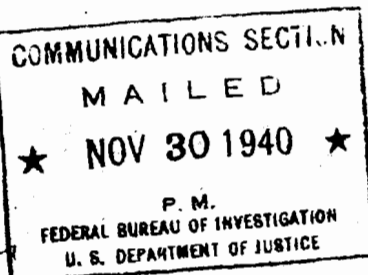
It is therefore desired that you arrange to handle this matter at once.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 bja/pur

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Foxworth \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nathan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

2706 Gulf Building  
Houston, Texas  
January 5, 1940

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-9-80 BY SP4 bjp/pam

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: LUIS MUNOZ-MARIN

Dear Sir:

Special Agent J. CLARK NEWSOM of this office has informed me that while assigned to the Washington Field Office he prepared two letters to you for Special Agent in Charge HOTTEL'S signature regarding LUIS MUNOZ-MARIN, recently elected senator to the Porto Rican legislature, and on his forthcoming visit to the United States as a guest of Mrs. FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT at the White House, Washington, D. C. Senor MARIN is reputedly the Communist leader for Porto Rico but the entire Caribbean Sea area.

Special Agent NEWSOM has advised that an issue of the magazine, NEWSWEEK, published between the dates November 1, 1940 and December 12, 1940 contained a brief review of Senor MARIN'S personal history. Our efforts to ascertain the date of this issue and to secure a copy at the Newstands in Houston have been unsuccessful.

Very truly yours,

*E. L. Richmond*  
E. L. RICHMOND,  
Special Agent in Charge.

JCN:jla

cc - Washington Field

RECORDED & INDEXED

100 5-15-2  
JAN 10 1940  
JAN 10 1940

KRM: C

100-5745

January 16, 1941

Special Agent in Charge  
Washington, D. C.

RE: LUIS MUNOZ MARTIN

Dear Sir:

b7C

Your attention is directed to Bureau letter of November 30, 1940, in the above-entitled matter, in which you were requested to obtain all information of a pertinent character in the possession of [REDACTED] concerning the above individual and his associates. You were instructed to handle this matter at once.

A review of the Bureau's files fails to disclose any indication that this matter has been handled by your office and you are, therefore, instructed to submit a report thereon within ten days of the receipt of this letter.

Very truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-3-01 BY [REDACTED]

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

INDEXED

100-745-3  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
JAN 21 1941  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Foxworth \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nathan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RECEIVED  
JAN 16 1941  
F. B. I.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

91

KRM:bc

100-5745

February 28, 1941

Special Agent in Charge  
Washington, D. C.

RE: LUIS MUNOZ MARIN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-9-02 BY SP-5 JAL/DAK

Dear Sir:

Your attention is directed to Bureau  
letter dated January 16, 1941, in the above-  
entitled matter.

I desire to be advised as to the  
present status of this matter and when a re-  
port may be expected thereon by the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

RECORDED

100-5745-4
MAR 4 1941
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED-ROOM 5640  
FEB 28 6 25 PM '41  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED  
★ MAR 2 1941 ★  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

91

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice**

Washington, D. C.

March 14, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 hja/PAM

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

RE: LUIS MUNOZ-MARIN

Dear Sir: Internal Security - C

Reference is made to the letter dated January 5, 1941 from the Houston Office to the Bureau, advising that an article concerning the subject in this case had been published in Newsweek magazine between November 1, 1940 and December 12, 1940.

For the information of the Bureau, please be advised that a check of the Newsweek magazines at the Congressional Library reflects that in the issue dated December 10, 1940 page 20, an article entitled: "#2 in Puerto Rico" appears as follows:

"LUIS MUNOZ-MARIN, beleaguered Puerto Rican editor and political leader who was reared in the United States and married MUNA LEE, "Mississippi-born" feminist poet, was ousted by the island's Liberty Party in 1936 because of his extremist drive for independence from the United States. Thereupon he organized the more radical Popular Democratic Party and, last month, ignored by scoffing old-time politicians, campaigned among the impoverished peasants under the slogan of 'Land, Bread, Liberty'.

Last week, as ballot counting continued amid cries of 'Fraud', MUNOZ-MARIN, already assured of control of the island Senate with 10 votes to 9 for the more conservative, pro-statehood coalitionists, strengthened his bloc in the House of Representatives as well when a recount in the Manitiy Barceloneta district elected by a scant five votes CARZELO RODRIGUEZ, popular Democratic chauffeur. Superintendent of Elections CHARLES TERRY estimated that the

RECORDED & INDEXED

COPIES DESTROYED 8/27/58  
P-40

1	5745-5
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
4	MAR 15 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
FIVE	

Director  
LUIS MUNOZ-MARIN  
March 14, 1941

final count would give 18 House Seats to MUNOZ-MARIN'S party, the same number to the coalitionists and 3 scattering. The Popular Democratic Leader confidently claims a majority in the House.

MUNOZ-MARIN, himself a Senator-elect, was slated to become the upper chamber's president, the office that ranks next to the Washington appointed Governor. As his superior, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT last week unexpectedly selected as Acting Governor, to replace Admiral LEAHY, Puerto Rico's native-born American-educated Commissioner of Education, JOSE M. GALLARDO."

With further reference to the above entitled case, it has been determined that Confidential Informant [REDACTED] who b2, b7D is believed to be in a position to furnish considerable information in connection with this matter, has been in Puerto Rico for the past several months, and is scheduled to return to Washington in the late Spring. Immediately upon his arrival in Washington, he will be contacted for the full details in connection with this matter.

Very truly yours,

*Guy Hottel*  
GUY HOTTEL

Special Agent in Charge

TWD:JGM  
100-341

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice**

Washington, D. C.

April 26, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 bja/AM

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: LUIS MUNOZ MARIN  
Internal Security - C

*SP4 wac*

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated February 28, 1941, in connection with the above entitled matter. Please be advised Confidential Informant [REDACTED] has just returned from Puerto Rico where he has been in close contact with the political situation. He advises the subject in this case is closely associated with three notorious Communists who are as follows:

*62.67D*

ELLER ELLSWORTH  
GEIGEL POLAYCO, Member of the Puerto Rican  
Senate and editorial writer.  
RAMOS ANTONINI, Member of the House of  
Puerto Rico.

The Informant further advises that the above individuals are the counsels of LUIS MUNOZ MARIN and they are actively engaged in Communist Party activities and advocate the independence of Puerto Rico from the United States; that since their election to power they have been influencing the wholesalers of Puerto Rico to buy their food stuffs from South America; that in doing so it is necessary they pay a custom duty on such food stuffs to the Puerto Rican Government; that the United States has consented to the Puerto Rican government's keeping this custom levy and by such method the present

*100-5745-6*

MAY 7 1941

RECORDED

COPIES DESTROYED *3/27/54*

100 - 5745 - 6
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
6 APR 29 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

*Tammy*  
*DISPATCH*  
*FIVE*  
*Butler*

Director  
LUIS MUNOZ MARIN  
April 26, 1941

officers and government are enabled to obtain funds for their party use. It is believed these funds are being diverted from the government to private use; that it is a known fact the wholesalers obtain a rebate on part of the custom duties.

b7C  
b7D  
The Informant was questioned concerning the knowledge and information of LUIS MUNOZ MARIN in the possession of one [REDACTED]. The Informant advised that in view of the fact the subject in this case was in power, his Communist associates and activities were a matter of common knowledge, and the Informant is of the opinion such information can be obtained through open channels in Puerto Rico by open inquiry. The Informant prefers that the same be obtained through the above manner unless it is discovered to be impossible at which time the Informant will consider contacting [REDACTED] for the purpose of obtaining said information. At the present time he deems it preferable to obtain this information in Puerto Rico.

In view of the Informant's desires in this case no further efforts are being made to contact [REDACTED] and this matter is being referred to the San Juan Office's attention. In the event the Bureau desires a detailed investigation into the Communist activities of LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, please notify San Juan to that effect.

Unless otherwise instructed to the contrary, no further investigation is being made by this office.

Very truly yours,

*S. K. McKEE*

S. K. McKEE  
Special Agent in Charge

TMD:EJ  
100-341  
cc-San Juan

CORDED

100-5745 -6

May 15, 1941

Special Agent in Charge  
San Juan, Puerto Rico

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 JPA/AM

RE: LUIS MUNOZ MARIN;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the letter of the Washington Field Office to the Bureau, dated April 26, 1941, a copy of which was furnished to the San Juan Office.

The Bureau desires that a thorough and discreet investigation be undertaken by the San Juan Office concerning Marin.

For the information of the San Juan Office, copies of the letter of the Washington Field Office to the Bureau dated March 14, 1941, in the above-entitled matter, are being transmitted herewith.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

CC - Washington Field Office

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Foxworth \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



June 24, 1941

KRM:MBB

100-5745 \*

Special Agent in Charge  
Washington, D. C.

RE: LUIS MUNOZ MARIN

Dear Sir:

Please refer to the Bureau's letter of February  
28, 1941, and advise at once the status of this investigation.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-9-00 BY [signature]

RECORDED

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Foxworth \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Drayton \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED  
★ JUN 24 1941 ★  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

100 5745-6  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
6 JUN 28 1941  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

KRM:MBB

100-5745-~~4~~

June 27, 1941

Special Agent in Charge  
San Juan, Puerto Rico

RE: LUIS MUNOZ MARIN;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C.

Dear Sir:

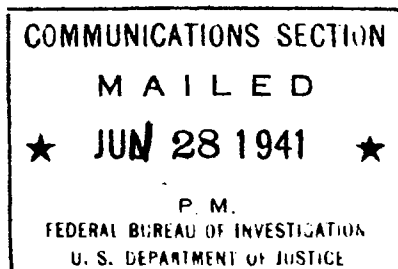
Please refer to my letter of May 15, 1941, and  
advise what steps have been taken to investigate this matter.

Very truly yours,

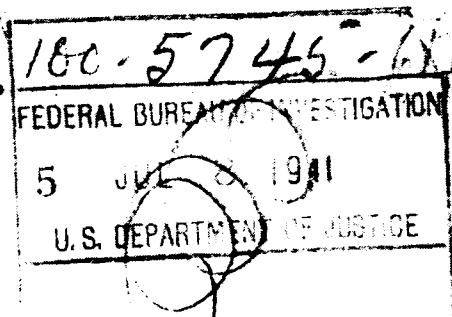
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 bja/PAU

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Foxworth \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Drayton \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Hendon \_\_\_\_\_



*RECORDED*  
*[Handwritten signature]*



CH-6  
130

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
San Juan, Puerto Rico  
July 7, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 bja/m

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.


RE: LUIS MUNOZ MARIN;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated June 27, 1941, requesting advice as to what steps have been taken to investigate captioned matter.

Please be advised that a report is being mailed this date, San Juan, by Special Agent JACK O. PARKER.


Very truly yours,

  
D. L. McCormack  
Special Agent in Charge

RECORDED

JES:JHP  
100-302

AIR MAIL

100-5745-11
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
7 JUL 11 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE


CH

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **San Juan, Puerto Rico**

FILE NO. **100-302**

REPORT MADE AT <b>San Juan, Puerto Rico</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>7-7-41</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>5-27,30;6-5,6,11,24-41</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>JACK O. PARKER JHP</b>
TITLE <b>LUIS MUNOZ MARIN</b>		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C.</b>	
<p><b>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED</b>  <b>DATE 3-9-88 BY SP4 bja/pad</b></p>			
<p><b>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"> <b>LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, born San Juan, Puerto Rico, February 18, 1898. Is leader of Popular Democratic Party of Puerto Rico, and President of the Puerto Rican Senate as result of the Puerto Rico elections of November 1940. Investigation indicates he is a political opportunist supported by radical politicians who desire Puerto Rico's independence from the United States.</b> </p> <p style="text-align: center;">- P -</p> <p><b>REFERENCE:</b> Bureau letter dated May 15, 1941.</p> <p><b>DETAILS:</b> MUNOZ MARIN resides at #10 Ponce de Leon Avenue, Santurce, Puerto Rico, [REDACTED] b7c</p> <p>Reporting agent talked with <b>LUIS MUNOZ MARIN</b> on several occasions. Although no specific questions were put to MUNOZ MARIN on these occasions he advised reporting agent that he organized the Popular Democratic Party of Puerto Rico in the latter part of 1939 or the early part of 1940, and as a result of two years of campaigning by himself and leaders of the Popular Democratic Party, without funds, the Puerto Rico elections of November, 1940, placed the Popular Democratic Party in control of the legislature of Puerto Rico.</p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 Bureau 2 San Juan COPIES DESTROYED 3/27/59 P-40		<p style="text-align: center;">DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</p> <p style="text-align: center;">100-5745-9</p> <p style="text-align: center;">JUL 11 1941</p> <p style="text-align: center;">JUL 21 1941</p> <p style="text-align: center;">LAP. M.L.</p>	

San Juan File 100-302

Reporting Agent has observed that MUNOZ MARIN resides with a woman generally referred to as LA MENDOZA. It is common knowledge that she is the mistress of MUNOZ MARIN. She has two baby girls by MUNOZ MARIN, one 18 months old and the other six months old.

#1 advised that LUIS MUNOZ MARIN is the son of LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA, a politician and statesman of Puerto Rico who died in 1916. Evidence of the respect and honor paid LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA by the citizens of Puerto Rico is that nearly every city and town in Puerto Rico has a street, a plaza, or a school house named in honor of LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA. LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA was the first Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico to Washington and he is said to be responsible for the securing of United States citizenship for the Puerto Rican people.

About 1920, or four years after the death of LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA, LUIS MUNOZ MARIN joined a political group which had opposed his father in politics

b7D [REDACTED]

When LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA died there was no money left for his family and his friends took up a collection to pay for the support of LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA'S family in the United States

LUIS MUNOZ MARIN has no profession. #1 believed that he attended college in the United States for about one year. He married MUNA LEE, well known poetess of the United States, who is presently teaching at the University of Puerto Rico. This marriage must have taken place about 1924. He has two grown children of this marriage. He has never accepted the responsibility of this marriage or of his family, and for years has not contributed to the support of MUNA LEE or his children.

#1 stated that MUNOZ MARIN is absolutely irresponsible financially. He never has any money in his pockets and never thinks of his responsibilities.

#1 advised that about fifteen years ago MUNOZ MARIN contacted old friends of his father's and advised that he was

publishing a book on the life of LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA and was soliciting contributions for this book. #1 states that [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] #1 estimated that MUNOZ MARIN must have collected about \$5,000 from friends of his father for the purpose of publishing a book on the life of his father. Shortly after MUNOZ MARIN had made these collections he was observed with two of his friends on a tour of the Island of Puerto Rico. It was said that MUNOZ MARIN and his friends had about \$5,000 in one dollar bills which they carried in a small satchell. After a spree which lasted about four months and all of the money MUNOZ MARIN had collected for the book he was to publish was spent, he left Puerto Rico and did not return for several years.

#1 advised that the present leaders of the Popular Democratic Party are Senator VICENTE GEIGEL POLANCO of San Juan, SAMUEL QUINONES, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Representative RAMOS ANTONINI, and Senator BARRETO PEREZ of Ponce, Puerto Rico.

#1 advised that it was his opinion that all of these individuals are former Nationalists, all believe in the independence of Puerto Rico, and GEIGEL POLANCO and BARRETO PEREZ are probably connected with the Communist Party of Puerto Rico.

A great deal has been written about LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA and his son LUIS MUNOZ MARIN. However, it is not possible for Reporting Agent to search library references for material regarding LUIS MUNOZ MARIN without disclosing that an investigation was being conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, because Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation are well known by sight in Puerto Rico and any specific inquiry made regarding LUIS MUNOZ MARIN would probably be immediately reported to him, as he is extremely popular with the poor class of Puerto Rican people.

#1 advised that #2 could furnish a great deal of information regarding the background and activities of LUIS MUNOZ MARIN and the aims and purposes of the Popular Democratic Party.

San Juan File 100-302

#2 advised that LUIS MUNOZ MARIN is the son of LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA, a great Puerto Rican statesman and a hero of Puerto Rico. He was the first Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in the United States and LUIS MUNOZ MARIN accompanied his father to the United States when he was a small child. LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA died in 1916 and the day after his father died LUIS MUNOZ MARIN was seen in public in a drunken condition.

Four years after his father died LUIS MUNOZ MARIN entered politics, joining the political group which had always opposed his father. He has never adopted any principles or ideals in politics and has been a member of four different political parties during his political career. He was instrumental in bringing the Puerto Rico Emergency Relief Administration to Puerto Rico and was well regarded at that time by the Democratic Administration of the United States.

b7c  
He has no moral character, he is absolutely irresponsible financially, but is probably the most brilliant politician on the political horizon of Puerto Rico. #2 advised that there was not a politician in Puerto Rico who could beat him in a general election and that he would probably control the Puerto Rico legislature as long as he was able to fulfill the duties of leadership of the Popular Party. [REDACTED] advised that he goes on protracted drunks which last from two or three days to two or three weeks, and during these periods of drinking he will take nothing to eat unless he was forced to by his friends.

His mistress, LA MENDOZA, is entirely supported by his friends, he pays no rent for the apartment he occupies at #10 Ponce de Leon Avenue, Santurce, which belongs to [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] b7c, b7D

MUNOZ MARIN has never contributed to the support of MUNA LEE and his two legal children and it has been necessary for her to work ever since she married him.

San Juan File 100-302

b7C  
b7D  
#2 advised that if given time [REDACTED] could furnish complete information regarding the background and activities of LUIS MUNOZ MARIN. [REDACTED] could furnish information regarding LUIS MUNOZ MARIN and other leaders of the Popular Party which would indicate that the major aim and purpose of the Popular Party of Puerto Rico is to establish the independence of Puerto Rico. [REDACTED] could furnish information that could be supported if necessary in legal proceedings.

#2 was recontacted on June 24. [REDACTED] advised Agent [REDACTED] had obtained a great deal of information regarding LUIS MUNOZ MARIN and other leaders of the Popular Party. [REDACTED] believed [REDACTED] could furnish all the information within the next ten days.

#2 desires [REDACTED] identity be kept confidential. Any disclosure of [REDACTED] would result most unfavorably to [REDACTED]

#3 advised that LUIS MUNOZ MARIN has owed the RCA over \$200 since 1935. Further that he has owed the Condado Hotel the sum of \$300 since 1935.

#4 advised that he had no record of LUIS MUNOZ MARIN.

PENDING

San Juan File 100-302

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

SAN JUAN FIELD DIVISION

At San Juan, Puerto Rico

Will re-contact No. 2

Will obtain the information regarding LUIS MUNOZ MARIN

San Juan File 100-302

INFORMANTS

#1 [REDACTED]

#2 [REDACTED]

b7C  
b7D

#3 [REDACTED]

Radio Corporation of America, San  
Juan, Puerto Rico.

#4 [REDACTED]

Retail Credit Company, San Juan, Puerto  
Rico.

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
Washington, D. C.  
July 8, 1941

JBG:JGM  
100-341

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 bja/PAM

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

O  
RE: LUIS MUNOZ MARIN  
Internal Security - C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the Bureau's letter of June 24, 1941 (100-5745) in which it is requested that you be advised of the status of this investigation at once.

This is to advise that the investigation requested in this matter was set forth in the letters from the Washington Field Office to the Bureau dated March 14 and April 26, 1941 bearing the above caption.

Attention is also called to the last few paragraphs in the letter of April 26, 1941 wherein it was stated that in view of the informant's desire in this case, no further efforts are being made to contact [REDACTED] b7C, and this matter is being referred to the attention of the San Juan Office. It was also stated that unless otherwise directed, no further investigation is being made by the Washington Field Office.

Very truly yours,

*S. K. McKee*  
S. K. McKEE  
Special Agent in Charge

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INDEXED  
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100-5745-7

CH-6

*SP4 McKee*

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice**

Washington Field Division, 1437 K Street, N. W.  
Washington, D.C.

JBO:KAL  
100-341

July 26, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4/bja/pmm

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

RE: LUIS MUNOZ MARIN  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated July 12, 1941, in the above-captioned matter (Bureau file 100-5745), which made reference to Bureau letter dated June 24, 1941, and also requested that the Bureau be advised by return mail what action had been taken by this office to conduct an investigation of MARIN, the subject of this case.

The Bureau's attention is respectfully called to our letter to the Bureau dated July 8, 1941, bearing the above caption, which letter set forth the action that had been taken by this office.

Very truly yours,

*S. K. McKee*  
Sbc

S. K. McKEE  
Special Agent in Charge

RECORDED

100-5745-1

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 JUL 29 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

KR:bc

100-5745-X

July 12, 1941

Special Agent in Charge  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 bja/PAN

RE: LUIS MUNOZ MARIN

Dear Sir:

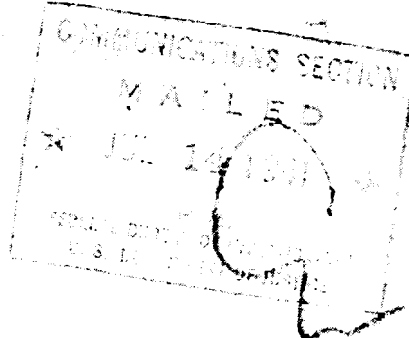
Please refer to my letter of June 24, 1941,  
and advise me by return mail what action has been  
taken to conduct an investigation of this individual.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

RECORDED

100-5745-  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
JUL 18 1941  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE



Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Foxworth \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Drayton \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CH-17

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RECORDED RPK:TD  
100-5745 - 12

August 25, 1941

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Special Agent in Charge  
San Juan, Puerto Rico

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 bjc/DAM  
ON 3-9-00

Re: LUIS MUNOZ MARIN;  
Internal Security

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter dated August 4, 1941, indicating that the Military Intelligence Division is conducting investigation with respect to the above named individual and that this investigation, to some extent, parallels and duplicates the work of your office.

It is desired that you confer with appropriate officials of the Military Intelligence Division in San Juan, for the purpose of discussing this matter. It should be determined from these officials what the interest of MID is in the matter and on what basis that agency is conducting an investigation of the subject in this case. You should diplomatically point out to the Military Intelligence Division that under the terms of the delimitation agreement between the Federal Bureau of Investigation and MID, the investigation of persons in a civilian status is to be conducted by the FBI. If there are some special circumstances in the instant matter which can logically be construed as constituting an exception to the delimitation agreement, these facts should be ascertained.

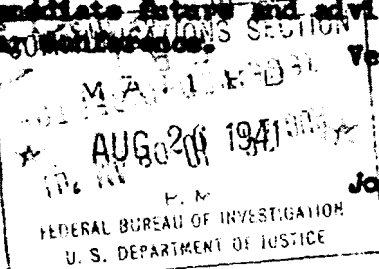
It is the Bureau's desire that matters of this kind be worked out in the field if possible, through conferences with representatives of the Military Intelligence Division or the Office of Naval Intelligence. The delimitation agreement was reached between these agencies and the Bureau for the purpose of preventing conflicts of jurisdiction and it is believed best that any questions raised under the agreement be thoroughly discussed by the representatives of the interested agencies, so that a satisfactory solution of any problems presented may be reached.

You should provide this matter your personal attention in the immediate future and advise the Bureau in full as to the results of your deliberations.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Fenwick \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Drayton \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice**

San Juan, Puerto Rico  
August 4, 1941

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 bja/PAC  
ON 3-9-00

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: LUIS MUNOZ MARIN  
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau radiogram dated August 3, 1941 which requested complete details regarding information furnished the Bureau by San Juan Division radiogram dated July 30, 1941, that the San Juan office of Military Intelligence Division was investigating LUIS MUNOZ MARIN in violation of the Delimitation Agreement.

Please be advised that on July 30, 1941 Special Agent JACK O. PARKER called upon Colonel EUGENE T. CONWAY, Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Military Intelligence Division, San Juan, Puerto Rico, regarding another matter, and in the course of his conversation, Colonel CONWAY made inquiry regarding INES MARIA MENDOZA, the mistress of MUNOZ MARIN. Agent PARKER advised Colonel CONWAY that INES MARIA MENDOZA was formerly a teacher.

Colonel CONWAY then introduced Agent PARKER to Lieutenant [REDACTED]

Lieutenant [REDACTED] mentioned that Agent PARKER and himself had something in common, inasmuch as they were both interested in the activities of LUIS MUNOZ MARIN. [REDACTED] then went on to discuss LUIS MUNOZ MARIN in such detail that it was obvious to Agent PARKER that he was conducting an investigation of MUNOZ MARIN. He exhibited charts which he had

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Letter to the Director

8/4/41

prepared which show the history of politics in Puerto Rico, the names of political parties, and their leaders since the American occupation of the Island. Agent PARKER questioned [REDACTED] regarding his source of information that Agent PARKER was interested in MUNOZ MARIN. [REDACTED] did not disclose his source but stated he had received this information from an individual who had furnished Agent PARKER with information regarding LUIS MUNOZ MARIN and that this source had given this information to him because of a friendship of long standing and the investigation of MUNOZ MARIN was not known outside of the confidential source and M.I.D.

Lieutenant [REDACTED] is a Puerto Rican by birth, his father being an American of Scotch descent and his mother a Puerto Rican. He was formerly an instructor in Political Science at the University of Puerto Rico and impressed Agent PARKER as being an extremely intelligent individual, well informed on conditions in general in Puerto Rico.

b7c  
On August 4, 1941 Colonel CONWAY called at the office of the San Juan Field Division for the regular weekly conference held with M.I.D., O.N.I., and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. At this time Agent PARKER inquired of Colonel CONWAY regarding Lieutenant [REDACTED] and Colonel CONWAY suggested that Agent PARKER get together with Lieutenant [REDACTED] and stated that they were pushing their investigation.

Because of the local prominence of LUIS MUNOZ MARIN and the political and diplomatic factors involved, this investigation must be conducted with the utmost discretion to avoid complications which might prove embarrassing.

It must be noted, however, that the San Juan Field Division is enjoying a very cordial relationship with the office of M.I.D. at San Juan. Colonel CONWAY and the employees under

Letter to the Director

8/4/41

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his supervision are very cooperative. It is believed Agent PARKER can by frequent contacts with Lieutenant [REDACTED] control [REDACTED] investigation of LUIS MUNOZ MARIN to avoid any information of this investigation becoming known to LUIS MUNOZ MARIN.

Very truly yours

*D. L. McCormack*

D. L. McCormack  
Special Agent in Charge

*3/4*

EHA:GEH  
100-302

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO**

FILE NO. **100-302**

REPORT MADE AT <b>SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>8-16-41</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>3/41; 7/16, 28/41; 8/15, 16/41</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>JACK O. PARKER</b>	WT
TITLE <b>CHANGED JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN; THE POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF PUERTO RICO</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY-C</b>	

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

History of **JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN**, The Popular Democratic Party of Puerto Rico, aims and purposes parallel Communist Party line and aim to establish independence of Puerto Rico. **JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN** has socio economic plan in connection with application of 500 acre law to establish small farms raising food crops which may destroy Puerto Rican sugar industry, thus severing Puerto Rico's economic ties with the United States and benefiting United States capital invested in Cuban sugar. He endorses his friend **REXFORD GUY FUGWELL** for Governor of Puerto Rico who was formerly connected with **CHARLES TAUSSIG**, President, American Molasses Company.

-P-

**REFERENCE:**

Report of Special Agent Jack O. Parker, San Juan, Puerto Rico dated July 7, 1941 entitled **LUIS MUNOZ MARIN**, Internal Security-C.

**DETAILS:**

The following information was furnished by Number One:

**EARLY LIFE OF JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN**

**JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN** is the son of Puerto Rican Patriot, **LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA** and **ADELIA MARIN**. He was born in San Juan, Puerto Rico on February 18, 1898 and received his elementary education in the

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5-Bureau 2-San Juan COPIES DESTROYED <u>3/27/51</u> 2 JAN 12 1942 1cc [unclear] 1/16/42 [unclear] 1cc [unclear] 1/15/42 [unclear]	<b>100-5742-13</b>	<b>RECORDED</b>  <b>AUG 22 1941</b>  <b>FIVE</b>

public and private schools of the Island. In 1910 his father, LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA then leader of the Unionist Party of Puerto Rico was elected Resident Commissioner to Washington, D. C., a post which he held until his death in 1916. At this time JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN was twelve years old and with his mother he accompanied his father to Washington. Although only 12 years old, he was nevertheless appointed a Secretary to his father in the office of the Resident Commissioner. He attended Georgetown University at Washington, D. C. from 1912 to 1916, but it cannot be established that he ever graduated from a university or that he has a professional or academic degree. (Information set forth above can be verified in "Who's Who In America, 1937")

The family relationship of his father and mother was not good and his mother soon left his father and went to live with relatives in New York City. His father, the Resident Commissioner still at Washington, began living with his Puerto Rican secretary with whom he had three daughters. JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN'S father had established excellent connections in Washington and from the years 1912 to 1916, there was a great deal of agitation for a reform of the Organic Act of Puerto Rico (Foraker Act) which culminated in the passage of the Jones Act which act liberalized the Government of Puerto Rico and granted American citizenship to the Puerto Rican people. In connection with the execution of this act, it was necessary for the Resident Commissioner to return to Puerto Rico. On September 20, 1916 while in Puerto Rico a sudden illness overtook him and he died on November 15, 1916. Because of having obtained American citizenship for the Puerto Rican people, LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA, the father of JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN was revered as the First Puerto Rican Patriot. Because of the prominence of LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA and Latin custom, it was necessary for JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN and his mother to return immediately to Puerto Rico. They arrived on the Island a few days before the father's death and were present at his funeral services. The Island of Puerto Rico never witnessed a demonstration equal to that shown by the Puerto Rican public upon the occasion of the funeral of LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA. He died in the home of DON EDUARDO GEORGETTI, a quasi Puerto Rican millionaire and owner of a large sugar refinery at Santurce, Puerto Rico. He was buried at Barranquitas,

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Puerto Rico which was also his birthplace.

As the funeral procession proceeded from Santurce to Barranquitas, Puerto Rico by automobile, the road was lined for a distance of 40 miles by the common people of Puerto Rico who literally covered the road with flowers. At this time JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN was 18 years old and immediately following his fathers funeral he indulged in excessive drinking in public places and became quite intoxicated. For many days the talk of San Juan was the unbecoming behavior of young JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN during the period that the people of the Island were mourning the death of his father.

LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA left no estate whatever and EDUARDO GEORGETTI made arrangements which established the economic stability of the widow, son and daughters of LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA. Residential houses were built in Puerto Rico for the daughters and the rentals received from these houses were remitted to the daughters who preferred to reside in Washington, D. C. GEORGETTI furthermore furnished funds for the education of the children. Upon the death of LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA, the Unionist Party of Puerto Rico which was supported by the sugar interests of the island and other wealth, appointed CORDOBA DAVILA to succeed as Resident Commissioner at Washington, D. C. JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, then 18 years of age was appointed Secretary to the new Resident Commissioner at Washington, D. C. which post he held from 1916 to 1918.

#### MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE OF JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN

On July 1, 1919, JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN married ~~MUNA LEE~~ of Raymond, Mississippi of whom he has two children, MUNITA and LUIS. MUNA LEE is a well known poetess and has excellent connections in Washington, D. C. She is also connected with several women's organizations and is the daughter of BENJAMIN FLOYD LEE and MARY McWILLIAMS. She was a student at Blue Mountain Mississippi College from 1909 to 1910, the University of Oklahoma from 1911 to 1912, received a Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Mississippi in 1913; Director of the Bureau of International Relations of the University of Puerto Rico since 1927; on leave of absence

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1931 to 1933 to act as Director of National activities of the National Woman's Party of the United States; member Committee of National Woman's Party of the United States, 1928, the first time women were invited to address this congress; Honorary President Liga Social Sufragista, Cuba, 1928; Director Bureau of Public Relations and Information; Inter-American Committee of Women; member of society Women Geographers Poetry Society of America; Ibero American Institute of the University of Puerto Rico; permanent member of the Governing Board and was awarded lyric prize by the Poetry Magazine, Chicago, 1915. Member of the following clubs: Poet's Club, 1924 to 1927; Ateneo de Puerto Rico; Author of "Sea Change" 1923; Translator, "Spanish American Anthology"; Number of poems published 1924. Editor with RICHARD PATTEE, "Modern Haiti" 1936; Contributor to American Mercury, New Yorker, Commonwealth, Hispanic-American Historic Review, West Indian Review, La Nueva Democracia, Revista Bimestral Cubana. The information set forth above can be verified in "Who's Who in America, 1937."

It is believed that MUNA LEE has frequently used her excellent connections in the United States to further the career of her husband, JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN. However, he has shown no appreciation for this. During the last six years JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN has abandoned his home and is living with his mistress, INEZ MARIA LENDOZA an extremely intelligent young Puerto Rican high school teacher and a college graduate of whom he has two small children to this date. MUNA LEE MUNOZ has raised the son and daughter of JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN and has paid for their education and has never intimated to friends that her husband had deserted herself and children. She gives the impression that everything goes well in her married life.

INEZ MARIA LENDOZA was employed as a teacher by the Department of Education of the Insular Government of Puerto Rico in 1937

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Number One has been advised by intimates of JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN that INEZ MARIA MENDOZA is writing a great many of his speeches and is undoubtedly influencing his political policies.

#### JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN ENTERS POLITICS

In 1919 or 1920, JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN returned to Puerto Rico from the United States and contrary to general belief and expectation, the son of the great Patriot and popular idol did not join his father's Unionist Party but accepted a salary of \$20.00 a week from the extreme Left Socialist Party which was led by SANTIAGO IGLESIAS, to go around the Island of Puerto Rico making speeches for the Socialist Party in opposition to the Unionist Party which had been established by his father. He explained that his father's party was for him to conservative and was maintained in power by the vested interests which he desired to destroy, it being the party of absentee land owners and sugar refineries. Therefore, to attack big business capitalistic imperialism and to defend the labor cause, MUNOZ MARIN chose the Socialist Party. He began his propaganda for the Socialist Party in the town of Bayamon, Puerto Rico. At the time, this town was the great cigar factory center of the Island of Puerto Rico. The political meetings held by MARIN at Bayamon were well attended by the workers at Bayamon for they enjoyed seeing the son of LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA, who had always supported the sugar interests and wealth of the Island, waving the Red flag and torch emblem of the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico. This was attractive to the workers but somewhat shocking to the educated class of Puerto Rico. After his excellent work at Bayamon, Puerto Rico, leaders of the Socialist Party decided to use him in the political campaign of 1920. He spoke at meetings throughout the Island, attacking the Unionist Party, denounced his father's commitments and his language was always more radical than that of his Socialist comrade. SANTIAGO IGLESIAS, the leader of the Socialist Party had been his father's bitterest political enemy.

The Socialist Party of Puerto Rico in 1920 was a labor party and despite the Red flag and torch symbol of the party, it was a very Pro-American Party because of its affiliation

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with the American Federation of Labor through the Federacion Libre holding a charter from the American Federation of Labor and being a labor organization controlled by SANTIAGO INGLESIAS, leader of the Socialist Party. In 1920 the Socialist Party had initiated a movement to form a coalition with the Republican Party which was then controlled by JOSE TOUS SOTO. SANTIAGO INGLESIAS, leader of the Socialist Party favored the coalition idea because like the Republican Party his party was wholeheartedly Pro-American and although the Socialist Party treated socio-economic problems of first importance its platform advocated the incorporation of Puerto Rico into the United States and the extension of the Constitution of the United States to the Island. The Republican Party under JOSE TOUS SOTO always advocated statehood for the Island and maintained that the economic problems had to be solved with the political problems and emphasized the Americanization of Puerto Rico as preparation for statehood.

The Unionist Party under ANTONIO BARCELO had for years favored the sugar interests in Puerto Rico, but at the same time appealed to the masses by denouncing the American regime and advocated independence for Puerto Rico. However, in Washington they made no demands for independence, stressed the idea of self Government in Puerto Rico and supported the policy of Laissez-Faire for the American capital invested in Puerto Rico.

The coalition of the Socialist and Republican Parties as suggested by SANTIAGO INGLESIAS was designed to defeat the Unionist Party in the elections of 1920. JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, although a very young man and in the Socialist Party for only a short time, attended a Socialist Party meeting in San Juan in 1920 and opposed the coalition desired by SANTIAGO INGLESIAS. Several Socialist leaders joined MUNOZ MARIN and the coalition failed which resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Unionist Party in the elections of 1920. The use of the Red flag by the Socialist Party was suppressed and the corporations contributed a larger share than ever before for the campaign funds which assured the Unionist Party victory.

After the defeat of the Socialist Party in 1920, MUNOZ MARIN returned to the United States and received an appointment from the Unionist Party to represent Puerto Rico in a newly created Bureau in New York City. He held this position for four

years and it was believed at the time that the appointment he received by the Unionist Party was his reward for causing the failure of the Socialist-Republican coalition of 1920.

In 1924 a split occurred in the Republican Party of Puerto Rico which was lead by JOSE TOUS SOTO and RAFAEL MARTINEZ NADAL, a Republican Party leader. It took a large group of Republicans out of the leadership of JOSE TOUS SOTO into a coalition with the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico under SANTIAGO INGLASIAS who were lead by him. Republicans remaining under the leadership of JOSE TOUS SOTO then formed a coalition with the Unionist Party which was led by ANTONIO BARCELO which coalition was referred to as Alianza Puertorriquena. The coalition formed by the Socialist Party and the Republican Party under the leadership of MARTINEZ NADAL was referred to as the electoral coalition. The Alianza Puertorriquena made up of the Unionist Party and the Republican Party under the leadership of JUAN TOUS SOTO won the elections of 1924 and MUNOZ MARIN received an appointment on an Economic Commission for the Insular Government of Puerto Rico at New York City which position he held until 1928.

It is interesting to note that he held these positions and was given these appointments in New York by the Unionist Party and the Alianza Puertorriquena which parties he opposed in the political campaign of 1920 as a member of the Socialist Party.

During his stay in the United States from 1920 to 1928 he was closely connected with radical papers and liberal groups in the United States. During these years he contributed articles on the Puerto Rico problem to the New Republic, The Nation, The American Mercury and the Review of Reviews. He was an active worker in the Pan-American Labor movement and during this period he became intimately acquainted with ERNEST GRUENING, a liberal anti-Imperialist who believed in independence for Puerto Rico and was managing editor of the New York Tribune and of the Nation. MUNOZ MARIN had radical inclinations and has them today.

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In 1917 he published a series of articles in the Puerto Rican newspaper La Democracia which was founded by his father, LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA at San Juan, Puerto Rico which articles were consolidated into book form and published as Borriones. In that same year he also published Madre Haraposa which was his first approach to the socio-economic problems of Puerto Rico. In 1924, ERNEST GRUENING edited a volume entitled, "These United States" and MUNOZ MARIN contributed a chapter on Puerto Rico, The American Colony, which is perhaps one of the most important sources of his philosophy which may throw light upon his present socio-economic plans. The work by ERNEST GRUENING, These United States, can be found in "A Symposium", Second Series, Boni & Liveright Publishers, New York 1924.

Quoting MUNOZ MARIN from Chapter 25, Pages 373 to 393; "The Gods have made Puerto Rico the first colonial experiment of the United States. The Americans came in the name of liberty and democracy and destroyed the liberal parliamentary Government wrested from Spain by LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA two months before the outbreak of the war. They also brought the tariff on sugar, which attracted outside and local capital to the cane fields of the coast. Twenty-three years ago there were scattered over the island several hundred primitive sugar mills which turned out around 69,000 tons annually. In 1920 there were seventy-five modern factories, belonging for the most part to large absentee corporations, turning out six times that number of tons. That is the open glory of the colonialists. Profit has been known to surpass 100 per cent per annum, and a very large share of it leaves the island never to return. That is the secret glory of the colonialists. And even this ghastly spectacle of wealth drained from a starving population into the richest country on earth is sanctimoniously set down in the official reports as a favorable trade balance."

On the Independence Issue quoted from Page 390, "In 1904 for the first time in our history an enthusiast slipped an independence clause into the platform of a ruling party, and its leaders felt compelled regretfully to leave it there. From that time until 1922 when the clause went overboard that party's most earnest efforts were devoted to placing independence in as innocuous a position as possible, a dream for the far future, the natural desire of all peoples. The last refuge of our dignity were some of the formulas used. Indeed, if it was kept alive so long the phenomenon must be ascribed to the persistence of JOSE

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de DIEGO, a man too strong to override, who wished to hold that solution before the Puerto Rican people, but the sentiment for independence is real enough among young fellows and the common people, and it only waits to be organized by a politician with some poetry in his make up. Whether that happens or not, the prospects for the immediate future are those of continued liberal political servitude, growing cautiously more liberal with the years." Note: The independence clause he refers to is undoubtedly one inserted by JOSE de DIEGO, one of the more radical leaders in the Unionist Party in 1904 to 1916.

quoting from Page 392, "In the conflicts between the United States and Latin America our sympathies are with Latin America. I doubt if a half dozen decent and intelligent Puerto Ricans could be smoothly recruited for an expedition against, say, Mexico. Mr. TRAVIESO, a member of the Puerto Rican Senate, was severely criticized for accepting an executive post under the American military occupation of Santo Domingo. There is relatively as much interest in the effort of the Venezuelan people to get rid of the tyrant GOMEZ as in that of the American people to change Presidents. Our literature, which in some branches is very copious, follows the general Latin-American currents where it does not show native or original traits. LLORENS, our most popular and perhaps our greatest poet, is Puerto Rico incarnate; HOSTOS is accepted by Latin America as one of its great thinkers; De Diego, while acting as speaker of our lower house, vigorously urged the formation of an Antillean Republic to consist of Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico."

The TRAVIESO referred to by MUNOZ MARIN is presently an associate justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico.

Quoted from Page 391, "The American Federation of Labor through my friend Santiago Iglesias is trying hard to Americanize Puerto Rico, but what Mr. Iglesias understands by Americanism is a high standard of living, free speech, and free press; we have the last two to a greater extent than you have in the States, and the first is good rather than American."

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On the economic ties with the United States, Page 392, "The economic ties that now bind us to the United States are not advantageous."

In 1924 when MUNOZ MARIN wrote this anti-American exaggerated chapter in GRUENING'S book, Puerto Ricans were already American citizens. They had shown their loyalty and sincerity to the Nation during the First World War and were proud to have a regiment which was not a Puerto Rican organization but a part of the 65th Infantry of the United States Army. In all the war activities the Puerto Ricans then as today felt the American cause was theirs.

At the time MUNOZ MARIN wrote his chapter on Puerto Rico he had resided in Puerto Rico about two years since he was 12 years old and was hardly competent to remark upon the loyalty of Puerto Ricans to the United States. His attack on corporations and absentee land owners may have been justified but the problem of abuses and excesses was not unique to colonial Puerto Rico.

On Page 345 of GRUENING'S book there is the following data regarding JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN which must have been furnished by him: "LUIS MUNOZ MARIN was born in San Juan, Puerto Rico a few months before the outbreak of the Spanish American War. His people, Spanish and Italian, had resided on the Island about eighty years. He was first brought to the United States when three years old, and since then divided his time between Puerto Rico and the United States. (2 years in Puerto Rico) He studied in the public and private schools of Puerto Rico and in the public schools of New York and at Georgetown University. He acted as secretary to his father, who represented Puerto Rico in Congress, and, to his successor in office; and has been at different times editor, stump orator, lecturer, short story writer and correspondent. Puerto Ricans consider his father, LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA, their national hero."

BACK TO PUERTO RICAN POLITICS, 1928 to 1932

In 1928 LUIS MUNOZ MARIN returned to Puerto Rico with his wife and children and established his permanent home in San Juan. That year MUNA LEE MUNOZ was appointed Director of the Bureau of International Relations of the University of Puerto Rico, now called the Bureau of Publications, a post which she still holds today. JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN was a member of the Alianza Puertorriquena Party in 1928 and the Liberal Party in 1932 and spent his time going back and forth between Puerto Rico and Washington, D. C. as a lobbyist to Congress. During the years 1934 to 1936, through the influence of his old friend ERNEST GRUENING, he was an advisor on the Reconstruction Program for Puerto Rico. In February 1936, he lost favor with the Department of Interior for his refusal to denounce the Nationalists shooting of Colonel RIGGS, then Chief of Police of Puerto Rico and a personal friend of Senator MILLARD TYDINGS. When MUNOZ MARIN entered Puerto Rican politics the most radical party which had as its symbol a flag reflecting a yellow torch upon a red background. The Red flag may have appealed to MUNOZ MARIN, but he did not like the affiliation of the Socialist Party with the American Federation of Labor. He has stated that the American Federation of Labor through SANTIAGO IGLESIAS was trying to Americanize Puerto Rico.

The electoral coalition under the Socialist leader, SANTIAGO IGLESIAS and the Republican Leader, RAFAEL MARTINEZ NADAL won three senatorial districts and the Alianza Puertorriquena under JOSE TOUS SOTO and the Unionist leader, ANTONIO BARCELO won four districts. In the elections of 1928 JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN was a member of the Alianza Puertorriquena Party. The personal ambitions of the two party leaders in the Alianza Puertorriquena, JOSE TOUS SOTO and ANTONIO BARCELO caused a split in the Alianza Puertorriquena Party in 1931, and ANTONIO BARCELO then founded the Liberal Party of Puerto Rico and MUNOZ MARIN joined the Liberal Party. In the elections of 1932, the possibility of a coalition victory was strengthened, for most of the Republicans who had formerly been in the Alianza Puertorriquena Party under the leadership of JOSE TOUS SOTO, returned to the old pure Republican Party and were accompanied by some Unionist Party leaders who with the pure Republicans under RAFAEL MARTINEZ NADAL founded the new party Union Republicana. The electoral coalition in the elections of 1932 was then made up of the Socialist Party and the Union Republicana under the leadership of RAFAEL MARTINEZ NADAL. Political leaders who were formerly members of the Alianza Puertorriquena who went over to the Union Republicana with JOSE TOUS SOTO were MIGUEL GARCIA

SENDEZ, CELESTINO IRARTE and LEOPOLDO FIGUEROA. A few Republicans remained under the leadership of ANTONIO BARCELO in the new liberal party.

The Liberal Party of 1932 under the leadership of ANTONIO BARCELO and JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN adopted a radical platform and independence was its ultimate goal. However, in the elections of that year, the electoral coalition swept the Island winning six of the seven Senatorial Districts, so in spite of the precautions of the corporations (sugar) the Liberal Pro-American groups of the Island as represented by the coalition won the general election for the first time since 1904.

JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN was elected Senator by the Liberal Party in 1932 and took the lead in preparing a radical political and economic program for the Party.

In 1932 the new Administration in the United States appointed JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN'S old friend, ERNEST GRUENING, Editor of the Nation, head of the Division of Territories to direct the reconstruction program of Puerto Rico. Because ERNEST GRUENING was personally acquainted with LUIS MUNOZ MARIN he depended upon him for a great many things Puerto Rican. From 1932 to 1936, and because of the apparent influence of JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN in Washington, he became the actual leader of the Liberal Party. The administration has shown a great interest in the solution of Caribbean problems, as reflected by the good neighbor policy of the United States. The abrogation of the Platt Amendment, the Retirement of the U. S. Marines from Central America and Haiti is evidence of this. The Tydings-McDuffie Bill of March 24, 1934 granted the Philippine Islands independence.

In 1931 a volume appeared on the American scene which was sponsored by the American Fund for public service studies in American investments abroad, published by the Vanguard Press; also Studies in American Imperialisms, Puerto Rico, A Broken Pledge by Bailey W. and Justine Whitfield Diffie.

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LUIS MUNOZ MARIN is often quoted in these publications and was apparently considered an authority on Puerto Rican affairs. There is a chapter defending the Independence of Puerto Rico and is a direct attack on American imperialism. Some of the quotations of LUIS MUNOZ MARIN are as follows:

"The American flag found Puerto Rico penniless and content. It now flies over a prosperous factory worked by slaves who have lost their lands and may soon lose their guitars and their songs."

The Desire for Independence, Chapter 9, Page 185, "Perhaps the sharpest difference between Puerto Rican development and that of the rest of Latin America lies in the fact that there has never been a serious movement for independence. Such political expression of a feeling for independence as we have had come, some say strangely, and some say naturally, under the American regime."

Some articles authored by LUIS MUNOZ MARIN which further reflect his attitude are, "98% American in Puerto Rico," New Republic, Volume 29, Pages 151-153; "Porto Rico, The American Colony," The Nation, Volume CXX, Pages 379-382; "Sad Case for Porto Rico," American Mercury, Volume XVI, Pages 136-141; "What Next in Porto Rico," The Nation, Volume CXXIX, Pages 608-609; "New Spanish Empire," Review of Reviews, Volume LXV, Pages 323-324.

One of the first steps taken by the Administration in dealing with Puerto Rico was to take the administration of the Island from the War Department and place it under the Department of Interior. This action was favorably commented upon in Puerto Rico for the people believed that they were being placed under a more liberal department and that the War Department had been responsible for the maintenance of the status-quo.

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TERRORISM IN PUERTO RICO 1933 to 1938:

The period of terrorism in Puerto Rico began in 1933 with a two weeks strike of students at the University of Puerto Rico, which was engineered by members of the defeated Liberal Party of Puerto Rico, it being recalled that the Liberal Party was defeated in the elections of 1932. At this time MUNOZ MARIN was a leader of this party and had been elected to the Insular Senate. Among the students who were leaders in the strike at the University of Puerto Rico can be mentioned GUTIERREZ-FRANQUIZ, now a leader in the Popular Democratic Party of Puerto Rico, and Secretary of the Insular House of Representatives and MANUEL RODRIGUEZ RAMOS, now Assistant Attorney General and a Popular Democratic Party leader. Among the parents of students who supported the striking students are RAMOS ANTONINI, now Popular Party leader and Floor leader of the Popular Party in the Insular House of Representatives; GUSTAVO BENITEZ, GABRIEL SOLER, RODOLFO RAMIREZ-PABON, and ISMAEL SOLDEVILA, all Popular Party leaders.

The disturbance at the University of Puerto Rico spread with the able assistance of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico to a general strike against corporations, banks and institutions which represented capitalism. Bombs were placed in the Puerto Rico Telephone Building, the National City Bank and a strike of public cars brought all traffic on the Island to a standstill due to rough nails spread upon the highways. Governor GORE could not cope with the situation and resigned.

It is interesting to note that the spread of terrorism in Puerto Rico actually started at the University of Puerto Rico under the leadership of members of MUNOZ MARIN'S left wing of the Liberal Party. After the resignation of Governor GORE, BLANTON WINSHIP was appointed Governor of Puerto Rico. At this time the Puerto Rico emergency relief administration under the administration of ERNEST GRUENING and under the local administration of MR. JAMES A. BOURNE was being filled with friends of JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN. Details regarding terrorism in Puerto Rico are not being discussed in this report since they can be found in the files of the Bureau in the case entitled NATIONALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO.

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In 1934 the Puerto Rico Emergency Relief Administration was replaced by the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration and in March of that year MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT accompanied by Assistant Secretary of Agriculture REXFORD GUY TUGWELL and JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER, visited Puerto Rico. The object of their visit was to make a preliminary survey of the economic situation inasmuch as at that time the President was considering a permanent program for the rehabilitation of Puerto Rico. MRS. ROOSEVELT was impressed by the social conditions of the masses and as a result of her influence the Eleanor Roosevelt Housing Project for Puerto Rico was prepared.

MUNOZ MARIN by reason of his connections in Washington was able to obtain advance information of plans being developed for Puerto Rico and in February of 1934 he announced that millions would soon be spent on the Island. From 1934 to 1936 MUNOZ MARIN was an unofficial adviser to the administration on all things concerning Puerto Rico. He became a leader of the Liberal Party and ousted ANTONIO BARCELO from Puerto Rican politics.

According to an article in the newspaper El Mundo, San Juan, Puerto Rico, dated April 25, 1934, MUNOZ MARIN sailed from Puerto Rico and stated "The Washington administration is considering fundamental measures for Puerto Rico, beneficial measures to bring about fundamental changes for the farmers, laborers and industries. It is necessary for the administration to know that the masses appreciate those plans."

In May, 1934, the Chardon Committee was called to Washington and for two months they worked on the reconstruction plan for the Island of Puerto Rico which was called the Chardon Plan. CHARDON had been Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico and for over ten years Commissioner of Agriculture for Puerto Rico. In July, 1934, the President approved the plan in principal and in September ERNEST GRUENING was appointed Director of the Division of Territories. MUNOZ MARIN remarked upon receiving news of GRUENING'S appointment "The best that could be made by President Roosevelt considering his (Gruening's) record as a liberal and anti-imperialist."

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The CHARDON plan regarding the sugar industry met opposition because of a delimitation of the quotas assigned to Puerto Rico which were established by the Costigan Jones Law. MUNOZ MARIN had an easy position, for in Washington he acted as a lobbyist defending the Cuban Sugar interests which at that time were forcing independence on the Philippine Islands and were trying through the dislocation of the economy in Puerto Rico to press a way for the independence of Puerto Rico on the same basis as the Tydings McDuffey Bill of 1934 which was passed in ten days and gave independence to the Philippine Islands. It is interesting to note the part the American Farm bloc and the Cuban Sugar interests played in the passage of the bill for the independence of the Philippine Islands. (See Kirk, The Philippine Independence, Pages 3 to 101).

The economic program of the CHARDON plan in 1934 was to reduce the production of sugar in Puerto Rico and plant in its stead food crops. MUNOZ MARIN and his group were then, in 1934, preparing the Island for independence. The newspaper El Mundo published at San Juan, Puerto Rico for September 29, 1934, reflects a letter of MUNOZ MARIN which is quoted as follows:

"The Chardon plan aims to do away with the exploitation of the Island and will create the economic independence needed. Under the present administration which has retired Marines from Haiti we have the first and only opportunity to put an end to said exploitation and create the necessary economic independence for Puerto Rico. The Reconstruction plan is no obstacle to the attainment of our ideal of independence."

Further quoting MUNOZ MARIN from El Mundo:  
"My position with respect to the CHARDON plan is clear. The plan proposes the acquisition by a public corporation of all the property of the sugar corporations and by the use of the marginal lands, reduce the tonnage production of sugar and stabilizes the sugar market as desired by the administration."

The Tausig Plan (Charles E. Tausig, President of the American Molasses Company) as set forth in News Week of July 28, 1941: Headache in Sugar. United States Acts to Veer Puerto Rico from its single-crop economy.

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Crowding 14,000,000 persons, more than the population of New York State, into an area of only 100,000 square miles, the size of Colorado, the West Indies provide only a bare existence for their predominantly Negro population. Their chief resource, the land, is devoted primarily to raising cane sugar, their main export and accordingly the islands, which once grew all of their own food, now import such staples as flour, meat, rice and dairy products from the mainland. This land problem, coupled with the chronic indolence of the population, the enervating effect of the climate and other factors, tends to perpetuate the undernourishment, overpopulation, disease, illiteracy and illegitimacy, which have plagued the islands ever since Europeans settled them. The solution of the West Indies economic problem is further handicapped today by the political division of the islands into the independent nations of Cuba, Haiti and the Dominican Republic and the colonies of Britain, France, the Netherlands and the United States.

To alleviate this economic distress, which Washington feels might provide a fertile field for Axis inroads in an area vital to American defense, the Administration last week disclosed as predicted, a comprehensive plan for Anglo-American collaboration on Caribbean problems. As proposed by President Roosevelt and Charles W. Tausig, President of the American Molasses Company, who toured the region for the President last winter, the plan now being considered by the British, involves the creation of a joint Anglo-American Advisory Commission. This body would study a proposed customs union of the British and American islands in the West Indies with their mother countries and a reorientation of their agriculture away from sugar and toward food crops. The President is opposed, because of the economic headaches involved, to taking over the British colonies, although this is favored. Notwithstanding the Anglo-American plan may ultimately be extended to cover the independent Dutch and French lands in the Caribbean, a prospect that is not well liked in Axis countries.

As a practical matter the Administration concentrated on putting its broad proposals into immediate effect in Puerto Rico. On this angle the President conferred with REXFORD GUY TUGWELL, former Under Secretary of Agriculture, who will soon report formally on his six-month investigation of ways and means of enforcing the legal limit of 500 acres that can be owned by any corporation in Puerto Rico.

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Although on the law books for 41 years, this law had no teeth to enforce it, was hamstrung by law suits while some corporate holdings grew to 20,000 acres and was not finally upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States until last year.

It is obvious that the new plans of MUNOZ MARIN and REXFORD GUY TUGWELL are almost identical with the CHARDON plan for the economic independence of the Island of Puerto Rico. Once the economic independence of Puerto Rico is established, political independence would be practical. MUNOZ MARIN is a political opportunist. He supports the plan for economic independence of Puerto Rico by changing from raising sugar cane to food crops because if the economic independence of Puerto Rico is established, Puerto Rico would be one step nearer to political independence. The spirit of the good neighbor policy is being extended to the Island of Puerto Rico because of the Administration's interest in solving the fundamental economic problems of the Island of Puerto Rico. The Philippine Islands were granted their independence probably over the objections of the War and Navy Department.

In 1932 and 1934 MUNOZ MARIN was acting as a lobbyist in Washington. He defended during these years the Costigan-Jones Law which limited the sugar quota for Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands. In 1935 he debated publicly in San German, Puerto Rico against LIGUEL GARCIA ~~MERDEZ~~ the Speaker of the House of Representatives, on the application of the 500 acre law to Puerto Rico.

When FRANCIS RIGGS, Chief of the Insular Police, was assassinated MUNOZ MARIN was in Washington and according to an article in the newspaper El Mundo, San Juan, May 5, 1937, he had this to say: "Gruening asked me if I was not going to repudiate publicly RIGGS' death. I felt that since the aggressors were killed at the Police Station, an open disavowal or rebuke of the assassination would have meant an accusation against a group of Puerto Ricans."

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MUNOZ MARIN'S refusal to denounce the Nationalists in the death of Colonel RIGGS was disastrous to his good standing with the Administration. ANTONIO BARCELO felt that MUNOZ MARIN'S usefulness to Puerto Rico in Washington was at an end and recalled him to Puerto Rico. (See Puerto Rico and Its People, by Trumbull White, Page 312).

During the period that MUNOZ MARIN acted as a lobbyist in Washington it was rumored that he was supposed to represent Puerto Rican sugar interests and in a period of about one year he spent some \$25,000 of the money of Puerto Rican Sugar interests defending low sugar quotas for Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands.

Colonel FRANCIS RIGGS, a former American Army Officer, and very popular with Puerto Rican people generally, was a close friend of Senator MILLARD TYDINGS. Two weeks after his assassination, TYDINGS presented a bill providing for the independence of Puerto Rico. It provided for a plebiscite in which the people of Puerto Rico were to vote if they wished independence or were to continue under the American flag. There were also economic sanctions included in this bill. MUNOZ MARIN stated, according to an article in the newspaper El Mundo, San Juan, May 5, 1937, that this bill was written by ERNEST GRUENING who got TYDINGS to present it, and stated at the time that the administration was sponsoring the project. The TYDINGS bill created more confusion in Puerto Rico than the existing terrorism. The effect was that all the radical groups got together, including Communists, continental American Communist Professors at the University of Puerto Rico, the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, and all other anti-American groups who formed the United Front to prepare the way forthwith for the functioning of the new republic.

MUNOZ MARIN stated that the Department of Interior declared the violence would not be tolerated and that Puerto Rico could probably work for whatever political status it thought convenient.

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MUNOZ MARIN repudiated the TYDINGS bill and said it was drafted to punish Puerto Rico economically because of the assassination of Colonel FRANCIS RIGGS. MUNOZ MARIN drafted a new bill for the independence of Puerto Rico and approached his friend Senator CARTWRIGHT, who presented the bill for him. This bill provided for a plebiscite and trade agreements with the United States and Puerto Rico whereby economic sanctions were eliminated and the plan would be acceptable to Puerto Rico. MUNOZ MARIN asked the Liberal Party of Puerto Rico to endorse the CARTWRIGHT Bill and ANTONIO BARCELO, leader of the Liberal Party, characterized the bill as impertinent to thrust premature independence upon the Island. He stated the aim of ultimate independence had not been discarded, but had been stressed, but that first Puerto Rico was to seek economic independence by means of the construction program. (Puerto Rico and Its People, Page 312).

DR. ERNEST GRUENING whose sympathies had been toward early independence for Puerto Rico, after his first few months as administrator of the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, made his conclusions known, which were that independence would be fatal to the Island's welfare. (Puerto Rico and Its People, Page 312).

After the episode of the CARTWRIGHT Bill, MUNOZ MARIN returned to Puerto Rico and upon returning he used the name of LUIS H. RODRIGUEZ inasmuch as he desired that no one in Puerto Rico know of his return to the Island.

Resident Commissioner SANTIAGO IGLESIAS returned to Puerto Rico for the 1936 campaign and it was not long until he was wounded by a Nationalist for having denounced the assassination of Colonel FRANCIS RIGGS. MUNOZ MARIN had been repudiated by ANTONIO BARCELO, leader of the Liberal Party and, therefore, he formed an organization of all the discontented radical extremists and anti-American elements on the Island known as the Accion Social Independista, or ASI. This was supposed to be a civic association for social justice and independence.

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MUNOZ MARIN told his friends in the Liberal Party that that Party should not participate in the elections of 1936, which was the same attitude of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (Non-participation in Elections). The conservative wing of the Liberal Party said that the Liberal Party should participate and MUNOZ MARIN was convinced a few weeks before the elections that his followers would follow the Liberals. The electoral coalition composed of the Socialist Party under SANTIAGO IGLESIAS and the Union Republicana under RAFAEL MARTINEZ NADAL, won the elections of 1936. After the elections of 1936 MUNOZ MARIN decided to organize his party and break if necessary with the BARCELO group. As a result, in 1937 he formed the Popular Democratic Party and adopted the solgan "Pan, Tierra and Libertad", bread, land and liberty. This party was made up of members of the Accion Social Independista. Quoting MUNOZ MARIN in El Mundo, San Juan, September 19, 1936: "In ASI are welcomed all Puerto Ricans who believe in independence and the social and economic justice for the Island. This organization is not a political party, but is a patriotic and civic organization.

He spent the years 1936 through 1940 constantly disseminating propaganda in the rural communities of the Island of Puerto Rico. He is an excellent speaker and knows the country and the people well, and he stressed their economic and social needs.

It is interesting to note that the terrorism continued in Puerto Rico until 1938, long after ALBIZU CAMPOS had been sentenced and sent to Atlanta Penitentiary on June 7, 1937. Most of the lawyers who defended the Nationalist cases were members of MUNOZ MARIN'S ASI. In the formation of the Partido Popular, the same radical extremists and anti-American elements formed the nucleus. The party platform of the Popular Democratic Party was the promise of beneficial legislation for the farmers, chauffeurs and laborers. Most of the legislation passed by the Popular Democratic Party during the 1941 session of the legislature is unconstitutional and revolutionary insofar as the economic system is affected by it.

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Although the Popular Democratic Party is composed of radical Communists, independentists and anti-American individuals, the issue of independence was conspicuously absent from the platform in the campaigns of 1940. MUNOZ MARIN is responsible for the absence of the independence issue in that he was far sighted enough to see that the independence issue would not be popular at this time because of the national defense program. Because of the national defense Puerto Rico is being converted into the Gibraltar of the Caribbean to protect the Panama Canal. Millions of United States dollars are being spent in Puerto Rico.

There are economic interests in the continental United States which were responsible for the creating of independence for the Phillipine Islands such as the sugar refineries, molasses companies and other corporations which have invested more money in Cuba than in Puerto Rico. They have increasingly attempted during the last eight years to solve the political and economic problems in Puerto Rico in the same manner as it was solved with the Phillipine Islands and so-called economic plans with their hidden political implications are now being considered by these same interests who have large investments in Cuban sugar.

MUNOZ MARIN'S ambition is to break the dependence of Puerto Rico upon the United States economically by destroying the sugar industry and setting up in its stead small farms raising food crops. The land problem which he emphasizes cannot solve the problems of over-population. There are 1,800,000 people living on an Island 100 miles by 35 miles. MUNOZ MARIN makes no mention in his plans of the population problem or the disease problem in Puerto Rico. It is believed that the reorientation of agriculture away from sugar towards food crops will lower a standard of living already too low in Puerto Rico. Any increase in the economic distress in Puerto Rico will make Puerto Rico a breeding place for subversive activities, which will undermine the national defense.

MUNOZ MARIN had remained in Puerto Rico from 1936 until he sailed north in July, 1941, with Governor GUY SWOPE. He made the trip north after receiving a telephone call from REXFORD GUY TUGWELL which requested his presence in Washington.

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PRESENT POLITICAL PARTIES IN PUERTO RICO

The extreme left Popular Democratic Party led by MUNOZ MARIN, the electoral coalition composed of the Socialist Party led by BOLIVAR PAGAN, Resident Commissioner to Washington, and the Union Republicana, which was led by RAFAEL MARTINEZ NADAL until his death on July 7, 1941. Others are the Unificacion Tripartita, composed of the Socialist Party, led by PRUDENCIA RIVERA MARTINEZ, the Union Republicana Rebel Group, led by ANGEL GARCIA MENDEZ, and the Liberals led by J. RAMIREZ SANTIBANEZ.

A review of the election results of November, 1940, discloses that the Popular Democratic Party received a total of 214,857 votes. They were able to elect ten senators and eighteen representatives. The Electoral Coalition received a total of 222,423 votes and were able to elect a total of nine senators and eighteen representatives. The Unificacion Tripartita received a total of 131,571 votes and were able to elect only three representatives and no senators. The coalition elected the Resident Commissioner to Washington who received eight thousand votes more than the Popular Democratic Party candidate. The Popular Democratic Party controls the Senate of Puerto Rico by reason of having one Senator more than the coalition. They control the House of Representatives through the cooperation of the three Tripartita representatives.

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MUNOZ MARIN'S CONNECTION WITH REXFORD GUY TUGWELL:

During the Spring of 1941 when REXFORD GUY TUGWELL was in Puerto Rico holding hearings on the application of the 500 Acre Law (Foraker Law) LUIS MUNOZ MARIN called JAIME BENITEZ, a Professor at the University of Puerto Rico, and asked him to bring his automobile around, that he wanted BENITEZ to drive him some place. JAIME BENITEZ picked up MUNOZ MARIN and REXFORD GUY TUGWELL and drove them to a secluded spot in Punta Las Marias. They spoke as old friends, as indeed they are, and MUNOZ MARIN asked TUGWELL what he could do for him, what kind of a job he would like to have in Puerto Rico.

b7C [REDACTED]

MUNOZ MARIN then said that he could make him Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico at \$15,000 per year. TUGWELL then remarked "How about me being Governor of Puerto Rico?" and MUNOZ MARIN advised him it would be very acceptable to him if TUGWELL was appointed Governor of Puerto Rico.

It was then decided that if MUNOZ MARIN appointed TUGWELL Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico at \$15,000 per year this would indicate to the Administration in Washington that TUGWELL was acceptable to the people of Puerto Rico and might influence the Administration in his appointment as Governor of Puerto Rico. MUNOZ advised TUGWELL at this time that if he were able to secure the appointment of Governor of Puerto Rico that he would give TUGWELL a leave of absence from the University of Puerto Rico during this period.

The announcement of TUGWELL'S appointment as Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico at a salary of \$15,000 a year caused a sensation in Puerto Rico inasmuch as the Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico has never received more than \$7,500 per year.

Popular Party leaders who were not taken into the confidence of MUNOZ MARIN were loud in their criticisms of this action. The Popular Party leaders who criticized MUNOZ MARIN'S action in appointing TUGWELL as Chancellor were not far sighted enough to see that this was a political maneuver to place him in line for the Governorship of the Island.

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Of course, in the event TUGWELL is appointed Governor of Puerto Rico radical legislation forced through the legislature of Puerto Rico by the Popular Democratic Party would probably receive the approval of the Governor in every instance.

b7c, b7d [REDACTED] a letter which MUNOZ MARIN wrote to CARLOS CHARDON who has been living in Venezuela for the past four years and who has previously been mentioned in this report, in which MUNOZ told CHARDON he should return to Puerto Rico as he would soon be needing him in connection with his economic plans for Puerto Rico.

Recent publications from Washington have reflected that MUNOZ MARIN appeared in behalf of REXFORD GUY TUGWELL at Congressional Hearings in connection with his appointment as Governor of Puerto Rico. These publications also reflected that CHARLES E. TAUSIG, President of the American Molasses Company, had appeared before the Congressional Committee to explain REXFORD GUY TUGWELL'S connections with his company, but was not called as a witness.

The POPULAR PARTY OF PUERTO RICO PARALLELS  
COMMUNIST PARTY LINES:

An intercepted communication addressed by ALBERTO E. SANCHEZ, President of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico to CARLOS RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ of the Communist Party at Havana, Cuba, requested RODRIGUEZ to support by vigorous propaganda the Popular Democratic Party of Puerto Rico inasmuch as its aims and purposes paralleled the Communist Party Line. The slogan of the Popular Democratic Party, bread land and liberty, is the identical slogan used by the Communist Party of Puerto Rico.

Important legislation passed by the Popular Democratic Party during the legislative session of the Spring of 1941 parallels Communist Party lines.

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PERTINENT LEGISLATION

Act Number 26, approved April 12, 1941, page 388, Laws of Puerto Rico, 1941, is being set out in brief:

An Act to promote the welfare of the inhabitants of Puerto Rico through the financial stability, social justice, and economic freedom of the farmers, laborers, and inhabitants in general of the rural districts of Puerto Rico, by providing an improved distribution of agricultural wealth; to establish the LAND AUTHORITY OF PUERTO RICO in the Department of Agriculture and Commerce; to define its functions, powers, duties and obligations; to appropriate funds for the functioning thereof and for the realization of its purposes and the purposes of this Act; to authorize and regulate the issuance and sale of bonds of The People of Puerto Rico, pledging for the payment thereof the good faith of The People of Puerto Rico and levying a special tax on the assessed value of real property in Puerto Rico for the payment of the principal of and interest on said bonds; to authorize and regulate the issuance and sale of bonds of the LAND AUTHORITY, fixing the conditions and authorizing the terms, and providing for the payment and security thereof; to empower the Governor of Puerto Rico to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, such members of the LAND AUTHORITY as are not ex officio members thereof, and to six PER DIEMS for those who are not officials and employees of the Government of Puerto Rico; to create the office of Executive Director of the Land Authority; to fix the faculties, duties, obligations and salary of the office; to authorize the Governor to appoint the said executive director by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; to implement, for the purposes of its full efficacy, the joint resolution of the Congress of the United States approved May 1, 1900, which limits to five hundred acres the land holdings of corporations authorized to engage in agriculture; to limit to five hundred acres the land holdings of artificial persons, partnerships and other corporative organizations of a private character, as the same are defined in this Act; to authorize and regulate condemnation and taking proceedings for the acquisition of land by the Authority; to acquire and parcel land held by artificial persons; to stimulate and establish the organization and development of proportional profit farms as the same are defined and regulated by this Act; to stimulate and

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promote the creation of a stable agriculture by small landowners; provide lots for AGREGADOS and persons who lack land whereon to build their homes; to promote agricultural rehabilitation programs; to define and establish offenses and fix penalties for the violation of the provisions of this Act, and for other purposes.

Act Number 28, approved April 12, 1941, page 464.

An Act to fix at eight (8) hours the working day of the Insular Police; to provide that the hours worked in excess of the legal working day shall be included for the purpose of computing leaves of absence; to increase the members of the Insular Police; to appropriate funds therefor, and for other purposes.

In connection with this act it is interesting to note that Number 2 advised reporting agent that four hundred new policemen had been appointed to the Insular Police, all of whom are members of the Popular Democratic Party, because of the application of the eight hour working day to the Insular Police Department. He was advised by a member of the Board of Police Commissioners that thirty-five of these 400 newly appointed policemen were former members of the Liberating Army of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico.

Act Number 32, approved April 14, 1941, page 540.

An Act to prohibit and prevent nepotism and other practices inimical to a sound administrative morality; to fix penalties for the violation hereof, and for other purposes.

This Act provides that no family can receive from public funds of the Insular Government or of any municipal government of Puerto Rico in the form of salaries, per diems, days' wages or in any other form of compensation, income or profit of a permanent nature, a sum greater than two hundred and fifty (250) dollars a month. FAMILY shall be understood to mean persons included within the third degree of consanguinity and the second degree of affinity.

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It provides that every employee of the Insular Government or of any municipal government and every person domiciled in Puerto Rico who receives salary or compensation from the Federal Government or from any of its agencies established in Puerto Rico, shall submit to the Civil Service Commission of Puerto Rico within the month following the date this Act takes effect, an affidavit stating the position or function that he is discharging in any of said governments and the compensation or income corresponding to said position or function, and the name, position, or functions, and the compensation received from the Insular Government, the municipal government and of any agency of the Federal Government that may be located in Puerto Rico, or by other members of his family, as defined in this Act.

There are other provisions in this Act which are not being set out inasmuch as they are not considered pertinent.

Act Number 39, approved April 15, 1941, page 576.

An Act to fix the year of twelve school months for the teachers of the public schools of Puerto Rico; to provide for the granting of vacations for one school month with pay in advance; to direct the Commissioner of Education to prepare and submit for the consideration of the Governor and of the Legislature of Puerto Rico a program of educational activities additional to those of the regular school course which will permit of the employment of public school teachers during the summer period, as well as the utilizing of the services of unemployed teachers during the necessary period for the extension, amplification, or effective realization of such program, and for other purposes.

This Act directs the Commissioner of Education to prepare and submit for the consideration of the Governor and of the Legislature of Puerto Rico a program of educational activities additional to those of the regular school course which will permit the employment of public schools teachers during the two additional school months of the summer period of the year 1942 and succeeding years, as well as utilizing the services

San Juan File 100-302

of unemployed teachers during the necessary period for the extension, amplification, or effective realization of such program, provided that this program may cover the following activities:

- A. Education of adults.
- B. Teaching of workmen and industrial technical training courses in trades, occupations and professions.
- C. Campaign against illiteracy.
- D. Special classes for elementary and high school pupils and special classes for retarded children.
- E. Sending of pedagogical missions to rural and urban zones.
- F. Courses of cultural divulgence.
- G. Institute of free teaching.
- H. Divulgence of purposes, postulates, and practices covering democratic systems of government.
- I. Classes in cooperativism and social security.
- J. Courses in Spanish for members of the military, naval, and air forces of the United States stationed in Puerto Rico and for other continental citizens domiciled in the Island.
- K. Courses in English for students and adults interested in extending or perfecting their knowledge of this language.
- L. Other educational activities of a similar character.

67C.67D [REDACTED] advised that it is the intention to administer this act so that school teachers can be used to disseminate Communist propaganda among workmen, the idea being to form classes throughout the Island of working men to acquaint them with their right to organize into labor unions to bargain collectively and to acquaint them with social problems and duties.

San Juan File 100-222

An Act was passed by the Puerto Rican Legislature which was introduced by Senator VICENTE GEIGEL POLANCO and MUNOZ MARIN which provided for the reorganization of the Department of Labor and the establishment therein of a Workers Education Bureau.

The above act was designed to furnish the teachers to handle the idea of the proposed workers education bureau of the Department of Labor. However, the reorganization bill for the Department of Labor was vetoed by Governor SWOPE.

Act Number 106, approved May 5, 1941, page 774.

An Act to appropriate the sum of twenty-two thousand (22,000) dollars to cooperate with the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration in clearing the titles of the parcels acquired by said agency within its agricultural rehabilitation program; to establish subsistence farms for farm laborers, and for other purposes.

Act Number 166 approved May 13, 1941, page 1008.

An Act to authorize the municipalities of Puerto Rico to appropriate and expend up to six (6) per cent of the total amount of their regular budgets for each year, excluding the proportion fixed by other laws for specific purposes, in the purchase, acquisition, and urbanization of lands contiguous to the urban district thereof; to grant and distribute lots on said lands, solely in usufruct and exclusively to heads of families who have no home of their own nor property whose value exceeds one thousand (1,000) dollars, or who have no other property than a home the cost and value of which does not exceed said amount and is situated in some slum of the urban district of the municipality, to the former for building on the lot and to the latter for transferring thereto a dwelling house exclusively, the value and cost of which does not exceed one thousand (1,000) dollars; to authorize the municipalities to impose certain conditions for the cession of said lots and to expropriate lands contiguous to the urban district in order to use them for the purposes set forth in this Act, availing themselves of condemnation proceedings; to declare of public necessity and convenience the acquisition, expropriation, and use for the purposes of this Act, of all land contiguous to the urban district that the municipalities may select for said purposes; to declare homesteads

San Juan File 100-302

the houses built and the right of usufruct granted under the provisions of this Act, and for other purposes.

The newspaper El Mundo for Saturday, September 12, 1936, reflects MUNOZ MARIN had organized an assembly of his followers under the name "Accion Social Independista" and in a speech he stated "Our purpose in this fight is not only for independence and social justice, but we want to establish decency in politics in Puerto Rico."

On September 12, 1936, he stated "The Central Committee of the Liberal Party and its majority of members, does not stand for and does not believe in the independence of Puerto Rico. It is our sacred duty to fight for the ideals or principles of desired independence and social justice, which is in the program of the Liberals. It is essential and highly convenient for the cause of independence to organize a civic organization which will gather the greatest volume of public opinion in Puerto Rico, also citizens who believe in social justice and independence, and can be a powerful auxiliary of the Liberal Party. Such public opinion will guarantee independence in the plebiscite.

LEADERS WHO JOINED MUNOZ MARIN IN HIS "ACCION SOCIAL INDEPENDISTA:

FRANCISCO ~~SUSONI~~, JR., son of Senator SUSONI of the Arecibo, Puerto Rico District, Recently appointed a member of the Board of Police Commissioners.

JORGE FONT ~~SALBIA~~, Popular Democratic Party leader.

ALIELARDO FONT ~~ROMAN~~, member of the Popular Democratic Party and candidate for Judge of the District Court, Caguas, Puerto Rico.

San Juan File 100-302

The newspaper El Mundo, San Juan, March 5, 1936, reflects that Attorney ERNESTO RAMOS ANTONINI offered his professional services to PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, when he was to be tried in Federal Court. ANTONINI offered his services free of charge. However, he did not actually represent PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS because of some disagreements with other defense attorneys. ERNESTO RAMOS ANTONINI is now the Vice President of the Popular Democratic Party and Floor Leader of this Party in the Insular House of Representatives.

The El Mundo of March 13, 1936, reflects that VICENTE GEIGEL POLANCO delivered a radio speech to Latin America in which he stated that the independence feeling predominates in Puerto Rico. Elections could not be taken as a real expression of sentiments in Puerto Rico because they are run by a regime of terror and economic persecution. He said there is terror against independentists; that the United States is opposed to Statehood for Puerto Rico, and that the majority of the people in Puerto Rico do not want it.

VICENTE GEIGEL ~~POLANCO~~ is leader of the Popular Party and Popular Party Floor Leader in the Insular Senate. This individual introduced the act which created a Bureau of Civil Liberties in Puerto Rico. He also introduced the Act with MUNOZ MARIN which provided for the reorganization of the Department of Labor and the creation of a workers education bureau.

In the investigation of the case entitled "Communist Party of Puerto Rico, Etal; Internal Security - R" it was disclosed that this individual is a close friend of FRANCISCO COLON GORDIANI, President of the Confederation General Trabajadores, which is affiliated with the CIO, and has been identified as a Communist Party member.

San Juan File 100-302

The newspaper El Mundo for March 15, 1938, San Juan, Puerto Rico reflects that the home of PEDRO JUAN ROSALY at Ponce, Puerto Rico, was dynamited and ANTONIO BUSCAGLIA and GUILLERMO HERNANDEZ were indicted in the Insular District Court at Ponce, Puerto Rico, along with ALEJANDRO MEDINA and CRUZ PAJARDO. These individuals were all members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico.

The Counsel for the defense of these individuals was FELIPE COLON DIAZ, now Senator of the Popular Party of Puerto Rico, and RAFAEL BUSCAGLIA, now Treasurer of Puerto Rico. ANTONIO BUSCAGLIA, one of the Nationalists in this case was the brother of RAFAEL BUSCAGLIA and ANTONIO is incarcerated at this time in the Insular Penitentiary at Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico.

Newspaper El Mundo for September, 1936, reflects that the "Accion Social Independentista" held a meeting at Cidra, Puerto Rico and among those present were: J. E. SOLTERO, recently appointed a member of the Insular Board of Tax Appeals; FRANCISCO SUSONI, JR., now a Police Commissioner; E. RAMOS ANTONINI, Floor Leader of the Popular Democratic Party, Insular House of Representatives; SAMUEL R. GUINONES, Speaker, Popular Democratic Party, and Speaker in the House of Representatives; VICTOR GUTIERREZ FRANQUI, Secretary of the House of Representatives and Popular Party Leader.

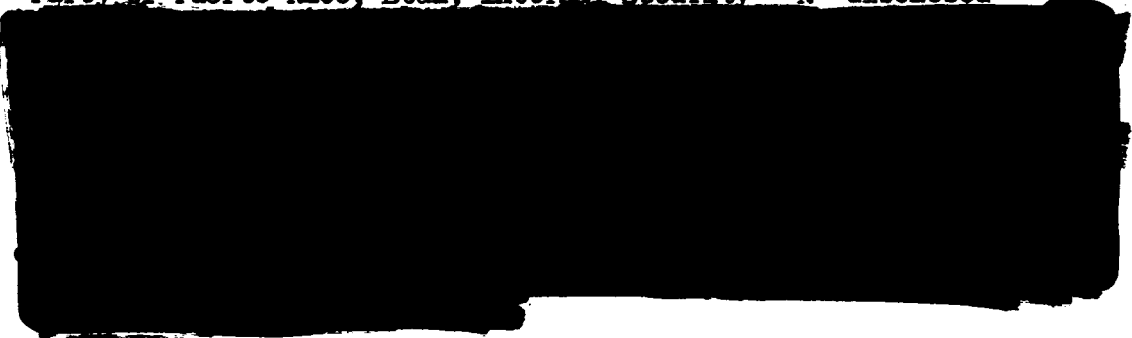
All those present agreed that they were convinced of the necessity of establishing independence and social economic justice in Puerto Rico.

The newspaper El Imparcial for February, 1938, reflects that the Attorneys defending the Nationalists who were involved in the Ponce massacre are RAMOS ANTONINI and GUTIERREZ FRANQUI, Popular Party Floor Leader and Secretary of the House of Representatives respectively.

San Juan File 100-302

A. CECIL SNYDER, United States Attorney, San Juan, Puerto Rico, recently advised reporting agent that MUNOZ MARIN recently called on him at his offices in the Federal Building and that in a discussion which followed MUNOZ MARIN asked him if he thought the Federal Government would have any objections to the appointment of ALBERTO E. SANCHEZ to a position in the Insular Department of Labor. MR. SNYDER understood that MUNOZ MARIN was actually considering SANCHEZ for the position of Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico. MR. SNYDER informed MUNOZ MARIN that he did not believe such an appointment would be looked upon with favor by the Federal Government inasmuch as ALBERTO E. SANCHEZ admitted he was President of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico. MUNOZ-MARIN then asked MR. SNYDER if the Federal Bureau of Investigation, San Juan, Puerto Rico, had made any investigation of ALBERTO E. SANCHEZ and MR. SNYDER replied that ALBERTO E. SANCHEZ probably knew more about that than he did if he was being investigated.

Investigation in the case entitled: "Communist Party of Puerto Rico, Etal; Internal Security - R" disclosed



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Number 1 advised that MUNOZ MARIN appointed five Professors formerly of the University of Madrid, who are now Spanish Republican Refugees, to positions at the University of Puerto Rico. All of these professors are self-admitted Communists.

San Juan File 100-302

Separate cases will be opened on those individuals carried in this report other than MUNOZ MARIN, where the information indicates that investigation of these individuals is warranted.

The following information was obtained from the newspaper El Imparcial, dated February 10, 1941:

SENATORS BELONGING TO THE POPULAR PARTY ELECTED  
IN NOVEMBER, 1940:

LUIS MUNOZ MARIN:

LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, son of LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA, who twenty-five years ago was a political chief of Puerto Rico, started his career in politics under the leadership of SANTIAGO IGLESIAS, President of the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico. MUNOZ MARIN left the Socialist Party when it formed a coalition with the Republican Party, which was dominated by the money interests in Puerto Rico. His reason for leaving the Socialist Party was that he always fought for the proletarian interests. Then for many years MUNOZ MARIN dedicated his life to the study of poetry and cultural subjects outside of Puerto Rico, mainly in New York City, where his great intellectual personality was fully developed.

In spite of the fact that MUNOZ MARIN spent so much time away from his native soil he never lost contact with the political situation in Puerto Rico. He returned to Puerto Rico in 1932 and assumed control of the newspaper La Democracia. He then helped in the organization of a new political party called Partido Liberal Puertorriquena and assumed leadership of this party jointly with ANTONIO R. BARCELO. From this party MUNOZ MARIN formed his own party, the Partido Popular Democratica. In less than three years this party became the strongest party that has ever existed in Puerto Rico and which in the elections on November 5, 1940, was victorious over a combination of all the other political parties and received a great electoral

San Juan File 100-302

majority and was able to dominate the Senate, controlling 18 seats in the House of Representatives. MUNOZ MARIN'S rise to power in Puerto Rico signifies the beginning of a new era in politics and economic justice for the proletarian masses.

DR. FRANCISCO M. SUSONI:

DR. FRANCISCO M. SUSONI was born in the town of Hatillo, Puerto Rico and received his first instructions under NARCISO VARONA, great Puerto Rican Educator. He graduated in 1896 with an A.B. Degree from the Instituto Provincial de San Juan. He immediately went to Spain where he received a degree in Medical Surgery from the University of Santiago de Galicia in the year 1900. SUSONI established the first hospital in Puerto Rico in Arecibo in 1912. DR. SUSONI was a member of the First Insular Senate and has been a well known figure in politics ever since. DR. SUSONI has been a pillar of the Popular Democratic Party since its inception and is a Senator from the District of Arecibo for that Party.

Number 2 advised that this individual is the Father of FRANCISCO SUSONI, JR., Popular Party Leader and member of the Insular Board of Police Commissioners, who is credited with the employment of 400 new policemen on the Insular Police Force who are members of the Popular Democratic Party, 38 of whom were former members of the Liberating Army of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico.

VICENTE GEIGEL POLANCO:

VICENTE GEIGEL POLANCO was born in 1904 in the town of Isabela, Puerto Rico. He graduated from the University of Puerto Rico in 1926 with a law degree and worked as lawyer for various Insular Government agencies from 1926 until 1933 when he became President of the Seccion de Historia de Puerto Rico, Vice President from 1937 to 1938, and President from 1939 to 1941.

San Juan File 100-302

He also is the author of various labor legislation projects and cooperated with the Department of Justice in the judicial defense of the law establishing an eight hour day in Puerto Rico. POLANCO has also been very active as a writer and reporter for various newspapers and magazines on the Island of Puerto Rico.

Other information regarding this individual has previously been set forth in this report.

SANTIAGO R. PALMER:

SANTIAGO R. PALMER was born in San German, Puerto Rico in 1893. PALMER received no education other than grade school. When he was twenty-three years of age he started his political career, first being member of the Municipal Assembly of San German, Puerto Rico and in 1928 he was elected as Mayor of San German, Puerto Rico, which position he held until the year 1932. In 1932 he was defeated for this position.

He did not come back into active participation in politics until the forming of the Partido Popular Democratica, when he was nominated and elected a Senator for the Mayaguez District of Puerto Rico.

JUAN DAVILA DIAZ:

JUAN DAVILA DIAZ was born in Manati, Puerto Rico in 1892 where he studied for a time and then went to Baltimore, where he left school without completing his courses. He returned to Puerto Rico and dedicated his time to agriculture. DIAZ has long been identified in Puerto Rico politics, beginning his career in 1912 under the leadership of DR. FRANCISCO SUSONI. He has been at one time or another a member of various political parties in Puerto Rico, but has not had a position of importance until he was elected to the Senate of Puerto Rico with the Popular Democratic Party in 1940.

San Juan File 100-302

DOMINGO BONET SANTOS:

DOMINGO BONET ~~SANTOS~~ was born in 18834 in the town of Rincon, Puerto Rico. His education was very elementary and at the age of sixteen he began to work as a farmer. He has always belonged to political parties of a liberal nature in Puerto Rico. However, he held no electoral office until he joined the Popular Democratic Party and was elected to the Senate of the Puerto Rico in the District of Mayaguez. SANTOS has always been interested in civic movements in Mayaguez and has decidedly cooperated with any movement for the improvement of Mayaguez, Puerto Rico. He is a Mason and a member of the Rotary Club and a Director of the Asocian de Agricultores.

FELIPE COLON DIAZ:

FELIPE COLON ~~DIAZ~~ is Senator for the Popular Democratic Party for the District of Ponce, Puerto Rico. DIAZ has not been in politics until the Popular Party was formed. The Senator from Ponce is around sixty years old and his only pre-occupation is to comply with the program of the Popular Party and to serve Puerto Rico.

LORENZO ISERN APONTE:

LORENZO ISERN ~~APONTE~~, Senator from the District of Guayama, Puerto Rico, is a member of the Popular Democratic Party, with no previous political history and no biography is obtainable.

RAMON BERETO PEREZ:

RAMON BERETO ~~PEREZ~~ is Senator from the Ponce District and is a Popular Party leader. He is an outstanding leader in the Chauffeurs Association of Puerto Rico and was born at Carolina, Puerto Rico on August 30, 1898. He the son of DON MANUAL BERETO ~~ORTA~~ and PRUDENCIA ~~PEREZ~~. He attended grade school for

San Juan File 100-302

eight years, and when he was fourteen years of age he left school to go to work. He worked in a commercial establishment until he was twenty-one and in the year 1920 he became an Insular Policeman in the Insular Police Department where he obtained the rank of corporal. In 1924 he was assigned to duty in San Juan and Juana Diaz. He voluntarily resigned from the Police Department in 1928. He worked as a contractor in the Department of Interior, with the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, and in the Division of Employment and Transportation, Insular Government of Puerto Rico. He has been President of the Local Union of Chauffeurs in Ponce from 1934 until the present time.

He has been District Director of the Association of Veterans of the Insular Police Department from 1938 until the present time. He is publicity Secretary of the General Confederation. He was formerly a member of the Union Party, the Liberal Party until the present time, now being a member of the Popular Democratic Party.

Investigation in the case entitled "Communist Party of Puerto Rico, Etal; Internal Security - R" reflects that this individual is acting President of the General Confederation of Labor of Puerto Rico, affiliated with the CIO and closely connected with the Communist Party. This individual is a close friend of ALBERTO E. SANCHEZ, President of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico.

A communication addressed by RAMON BERETO PEREZ to ALBERTO E. SANCHEZ, President of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, which was obtained from a confidential source, reflects that PEREZ would attend a meeting of the Chauffeurs Association of Puerto Rico which was to be held in San Juan, Puerto Rico the night of Friday, August 15, 1941.

San Juan File 100-302

LUIS MUNOZ MARIN is presently Director of the daily newspaper La Democracia published in San Juan, Puerto Rico. This newspaper was first founded by his father, LUIS MUNOZ RIVERA.

b7c

[REDACTED] Insular Police Department, San Juan, advised that he had no criminal record of LUIS MUNOZ MARIN on record in his Department.

- - - - - P E N D I N G - - - - -

San Juan File 100-302

- UNDEVELOPED LEAD -

SAN JUAN FIELD DIVISION:

At SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO:

Through contacts with confidential sources of information in the San Juan Field Division, report the current activities of LUIS MUNOZ MARIN and the Popular Democratic Party.

Number 4 verified the information set forth in this report, which was obtained from Number 1.

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice**

San Juan, Puerto Rico  
August 16, 1941

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED ON SP4 bjp/PAAL  
ON 3-9-80

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN;  
THE POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF PUERTO RICO;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

The attention of the Bureau is respectfully directed to the report of Special Agent Jack O. Parker made at San Juan, Puerto Rico, August 16, 1941 in the above captioned matter, which contains information regarding the background and activities of JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN and the POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF PUERTO RICO.

It shows his previous and present connections with REXFORD GUY TUGWELL, who has recently been appointed as Governor of Puerto Rico, upon whose appointment a Congressional Committee is presently holding hearings. Because of the Congressional Hearings presently being held on the appointment of REXFORD GUY TUGWELL, I thought the Bureau might desire to have this information at this time.

Please be advised that copies of this report were inadvertently omitted for the offices of ONI and MID, San Juan. The Bureau is advised that copies of this report are being furnished these offices since they have expressed an interest in this case and are aware of this investigation.

RECORDED & INDEXED

Very truly yours,

ROGER F. GLEASON  
Special Agent in Charge

JOP:JMD  
100-302

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY:

100-302-14
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 AUG 22 1941
FIVE

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
San Juan, Puerto Rico  
August 16, 1941

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP4 bja/PAM*  
ON *3-9-00*

Re: JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN;  
THE POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF PUERTO RICO;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Your attention is respectfully directed to the report of Special Agent Jack O. Parker made at San Juan, Puerto Rico, August 16, 1941, in the above captioned case, in which information was obtained from the following individuals who were designated as informants:

Number 1 - [REDACTED]

The identity of this individual must not be disclosed. [REDACTED]

Number 2 - [REDACTED]

Insular Police Department, San Juan,  
Puerto Rico

Number 3 - [REDACTED]

Number 4 - [REDACTED]

100-571-1E  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
4 AUG 28 1941  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
TAMM  
FOURTH  
DIVISION  
FILED

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Letter to the Director

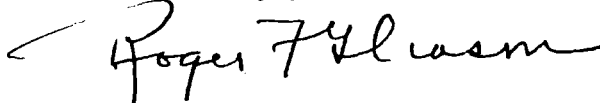
August 16, 1941

b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] furnished the Federal Bureau of Investigation with information in the captioned case, which is of an extremely confidential nature.

It is for this reason that the Bureau is being advised of the identity of the informants in this case by this means.

Very truly yours,



JOP:JMD  
100-302

ROGER F. GLEASON  
Special Agent in Charge

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY:

000020

SEP 7 1941

COPY SENT TO  
TAMM  
(110710)

BUREAU RADIO

DECODED COPY

Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Jones	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

FBI SAN JUAN NR 54 FROM WFBE 9-7-41

DIRECTOR ✓

IN REFERENCE TO RECENT POLITICAL TURN OVER IN PUERTO RICO IN WHICH POPULAR PARTY UNDER LUIZ MUNOZ MARIN WON CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT UNDER WHICH REXFORD TUGWELL APPOINTED CHANCELLOR OF UNIVERSITY AND GOVERNOR OF PUERTO RICO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY IN OPPOSITION TO TUGWELL HOLDING BOTH POSITIONS NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED LOCALLY HAVE BEEN SUPPORTING THIS OPPOSITION. CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION

**[REDACTED]** INDICATES FACT THAT FOUR FORMER STUDENTS PRESENTLY LISTED AS NATIONALISTS HAVE ENGINEERED ARRANGEMENTS WHEREBY THEY WERE ELECTED TO PROMINENT POSITIONS IN THE STUDENT GOVERNING BODY. THEY ARE GEIGEL POLANCO, CARLOS CARRERAS BENITEZ, DOMINGO MARRERO, AND JUAN HERNANDEZ, ALL GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY SEVERAL YEARS AGO AND PRESENTLY ENROLLED FOR ONE COURSE. THE ABOVE MENTIONED LEADERS OF THE STUDENT BODY ARE ALLEGED TO BE ATTEMPTING TO CALL A STUDENT STRIKE AGAINST TUGWELL HOLDING THE POSITION OF CHANCELLOR. UNVERIFIED INFORMATION RECEIVED AT OFFICE FROM SOURCE OF QUESTIONABLE CHARACTER THAT GOVERNOR TUGWELL HAD REQUESTED LOCAL POLICE DEPARTMENT FOR A LIST OF ALL NATIONALISTS OPPOSING HIM AT THE UNIVERSITY. BEFORE TAKING ANY ACTION NO REQUEST RECEIVED THIS OFFICE TO DATE FROM GOVERNOR OR POLICE DEPARTMENT CONCERNING FILES OF THIS OFFICE IN THIS MATTER. IN SUPPORT OF MOVEMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY TO

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 GAF/AM

RECORDED

857 SEP 4 1973

CC

INDEXED

RECORDED

100-5745

PAGE TWO

OUST TUGWELL EL IMPARCIAL, LOCAL NEWSPAPER, CARRIED STORY INDICATING THAT A FEDERAL AGENCY NOT MENTIONING THE BUREAU DEFINITELY IS INVESTIGATING THE MOVEMENTS OF STUDENTS AT UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO IN OPPOSITION TO NEWLY DESIGNATED GOVERNOR AS CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY. ARTICLE APPEARED SEPTEMBER FIFTH L SECTION IS "LAST NIGHT WE WERE INFORMED THAT THE FEDERAL INVESTIGATIVE AUTHORITY HAVE FILES OF INTERESTING DATA ABOUT THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF FIFTEEN OF THE LEADERS OF THE PROGRESSIVE UNIVERSITY MOVEMENT". REPORTER FOR THIS NEWSPAPER CONTACTED SPECIAL AGENT E. H. ADKINS IN MY ABSENCE TO INQUIRE WHETHER BUREAU IS INVESTIGATING MOVEMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY TO OUST TUGWELL. NO COMMENT WAS MADE ON THE REQUEST. REPORTER ALSO INQUIRED WHETHER FBI INVESTIGATES NATIONALISTS. INFORMED INVESTIGATIVE JURISDICTION LIMITED TO VIOLATIONS OF FEDERAL STATUTES INCLUDING NATIONAL DEFENSE LAWS. NO STATEMENT FURNISHED ON UNIVERSITY SITUATION SUBSEQUENTLY SEPTEMBER SIXTH EL MUNDO LOCAL NEWSPAPER CARRIED EDITORIAL HEADED "SITUATION AT THE UNIVERSITY NOW BEING THREATENED BY THE G-MEN". THIS EDITORIAL INDICATES STUDENT MOVEMENT VS TUGWELL IS ONE OF NATIONALIST COMMUNIST ORIGIN AND TENDENCY QUOTING UN-NAMED UNIVERSITY OFFICIAL AND STATE FEDERAL INVESTIGATIVE AUTHORITY HAVE ALREADY TAKEN PART IN THE MATTER. THE STATEMENT JUST ABOVE WAS QUOTED FROM EL IMPARCIAL IN EL MUNDO IN ABOVE MENTIONED ARTICLE. EDITORIAL INDICATES "NO COMMENTS AVAILABLE IN FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION OFFICE" AND COMES TO THE CONCLUSION THAT FEDERAL POLICE ARE CHECKING UP ON THE STUDENTS FOR THE CRIME OF HAVING DARED TO QUESTION THE WISDOM OF

PAGE THREE

MAKING TUGWELL GOVERNOR AND CHANCELLOR. FURTHER STATEMENT "THIS CREATES A SITUATION SO HARD TO CHARACTERIZE THAT WE CAN HARDLY BELIEVE IT IS TRUE THAT THE G-MEN HAVE ALLOWED THEMSELVES SNIPE DUPED IN POLITICAL MANEUVERS AT THE UNIVERSITY. IT WOULD RATHER APPEAR THAT THE HIGH OFFICIALS AT THE UNIVERSITY HAVE RECEIVED A FALSE VERSION WHICH HAS BEEN PREPARED DELIBERATELY FOR THE PURPOSES OF CONFUSING AND TERRORIZING THE STUDENTS". IT IS MY SUGGESTION IN THIS SITUATION THAT I FURNISH THE LOCAL NEWSPAPERS WITH A STATEMENT THAT THE FBI IS NOT INTERESTED IN ANY LOCAL POLITICAL SITUATION AS SUCH THE PARTICULARLY PRESENT SITUATION AT UNIVERSITY, THAT THE FBI IS ONLY INTERESTED IN SECURING COMPLETE FACTS REGARDING INFORMATION REGARDING POSSIBLE VIOLATION OF FEDERAL STATUTES WITHIN ITS JURISDICTION AND NO COMMENT CAN BE GIVEN ON ANY PENDING INVESTIGATION BEING MADE. BUREAU ADVICE AS TO WHAT INFORMATION SHOULD BE GIVEN GOVERNOR FROM THIS OFFICE IN THIS MATTER IF REQUEST IS MADE.

1. I think Gleason should promptly issue his statement & if it is a fact we have not investigated this matter he should say so.
2. If Tugwell asks he should be told the same. N.

wire SAC  
San Juan  
9/8/41  
J.B.E.

PEF:DMP

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION. SEPTEMBER 8, 1941

Transmit the following message to SAC, SAN JUAN

RECORDED

100 5745-16

RETEL SEPTEMBER SEVEN RE RECENT POLITICAL TURN OVER IN PUERTO RICO, YOU SHOULD IMMEDIATELY ISSUE STATEMENT TO PRESS AS SUGGESTED AND IN THE EVENT IT IS A FACT THAT WE HAVE MADE NO INVESTIGATION OF THIS MATTER, THIS STATEMENT SHOULD ALSO BE MADE TO THE PRESS. IF GOVERNOR INQUIRES, HE SHOULD BE GIVEN SAME ANSWER. IN EVENT HE INQUIRES FOR INFORMATION CONCERNING INDIVIDUALS WHICH HAS BEEN PREVIOUSLY DEVELOPED, THE BUREAU SHOULD BE ADVISED THEREOF TOGETHER WITH SUMMARY OF INFORMATION AVAILABLE, FOR INSTRUCTIONS. IT IS DESIRED IMMEDIATE SUMMARY THIS MATTER BE FORWARDED BUREAU.

HOOVER

CODE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 bja/pmm

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Foxworth \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Drayton \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

22 166  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP-8 1941

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Bureau Radio

Initialed in Director's Office

SENT VIA \_\_\_\_\_ M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice**

San Juan, Puerto Rico  
September 10, 1941

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 bja/PAM  
ON 3-9-00

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D. C.

Re: ~~NATIONALIST ACTIVITIES AT THE~~  
~~UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO~~

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Drayton	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the radiogram from the San Juan Field Division dated September 6, 1941 received at the Bureau September 7, 1941, and radiogram from the Bureau to the San Juan Field Division dated September 8, 1941 outlining the publicity which was given to this situation by the San Juan press. The following newspaper articles and editorials appeared:

On August 28, 1941 an editorial appeared in El Mundo entitled, "THE PHANTOM CHANCELLOR" opening an attack against DR. REXFORD G. TUGWELL, recently appointed Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico. This editorial stated in part that DOCTOR TUGWELL was going to take his oath of office, take up his duties as Chancellor for a few weeks, and then take leave of absence from the University in order to become Governor of Puerto Rico for an indefinite period of time. Meanwhile the University would be ruled by an Acting Chancellor, acting only insofar as DOCTOR TUGWELL'S whim or his need to return to the University might permit. The editorial further stated the University of Puerto Rico will have a "Phantom Chancellor" who will speak through La Fortaleza, (the Governor's Palace) at San Juan, Puerto Rico, and who will have definite authority neither over the students nor the faculty. The University of Puerto Rico will continue to be a lifeless body, chained to the material life of its budget. Meanwhile the Governor of Puerto Rico, who is the Chancellor in name of the University, will appoint the members of the Board of Trustees and will also appoint the members of the Governor's Cabinet, who according to law, have the right to enter into the affairs of the University. After stating these facts, the editorial suggested that DR. TUGWELL resign his position as Chancellor of the University and thus make possible the much needed reform at the University.

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FOXWORTH

Letter to the Director

September 10, 1941

The above editorial and a translation thereof are enclosed with this letter.

On September 5, 1941 an article appeared in El Imparcial entitled, "NATIONALIST-COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO UNDER INVESTIGATION." This article stated that a Federal investigative agency, not specifically mentioning the Bureau, was reported to be making an investigation of the movement which had begun among the students of the University to force the resignation of DOCTOR TUGWELL as Chancellor. The article stated that one of the high officials of the University termed this movement one of Communist-Nationalist origin and tendencies, and added that "Federal investigative authorities already have begun investigation." The article also claimed that "The Nationalist strategy is to maintain in the University a group of agitators as special students, (students who have registered for only one course) in order that they might not lose any opportunity to spread propaganda. Among these special students so mentioned are listed CARLOS CARRERA BENITEZ, REVEREND JUAN HERNANDEZ VALLES, FRANCISCO HERNANDEZ VARGAS and REVEREND DOMINGO MARRERO. The article stated in addition it had been informed that the Federal investigative authorities have files of "Interesting data concerning the political activities of some of the leaders of the present University movement." The article further states, "The Federal authorities have refused to enter into discussion as to whether or not they are directly or indirectly investigating the University movement. Nevertheless well informed sources indicated that possibly some Agents are conducting investigation of this activity, but until this time no law has been violated."

The above newspaper article and a translation thereof are being enclosed with this letter.

On September 6, 1941 an editorial appeared in El Mundo entitled, "THE SITUATION AT THE UNIVERSITY - NOW WE ARE THREATENED BY THE G-MEN", written by LUIS RECHAMIA AGRAIT. This editorial refers to the previously mentioned article published in El Imparcial on September 5, 1941 and states that: "Up to the time we went to press early this morning the Administrative Office of the University under DOCTOR TUGWELL had not denied the information given to the press by 'one of its highest officials'. Yesterday afternoon one of the reporters from El Mundo inquired about this report in the office of the Federal Agents, and they refused to comment. The report therefore, remains in status quo. Accordingly, therefore, the Federal Police are checking up on some of the students for the crime of having dared to question the wisdom of making DOCTOR TUGWELL both Governor and Chancellor. We knew about that little

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gang of professors who are interested in playing politics and slipping from one thing to another in the University budget, and which filled the Wednesday student assembly. But we never thought that those figures which have been moving around silently in the shadows would even pretend to put the Federal Agents on the trail of those who were too strong to bow to their wishes. In accordance with the report which we quote, a reign of terror has been introduced at the University. We must bow to DOCTOR TUGWELL in the double position of Chancellor and Governor, or we must submit to an investigation by Federal Police. This creates a situation which is so hard to characterize that we can hardly believe that it is true that the G-Men have allowed themselves to be duped into taking part in these maneuvers. It would rather appear that that "high official at the University" has received a false version which has been prepared deliberately for the purpose of confusing and terrorizing the students."

The original editorial and a translation of same are enclosed with this letter.

On September 4, 1941, prior to the appearance of the above mentioned article in El Imparcial on September 5, 1941, RAMON DIAZ, a reporter for that newspaper appeared at the San Juan Field Office and made inquiries as to whether the Bureau was conducting an investigation into the situation at the University, and no comment was made by this office. He then asked if the Bureau does not investigate Nationalists, and he was informed that the Bureau is interested in all subversive organizations at this time.

On September 5, 1941, subsequent to the edition of the El Imparcial carrying the article mentioned above, NATHANIEL SOLTERO, a newspaper reporter from El Mundo appeared at the San Juan Office and also requested comment as to whether or not the Bureau was investigating the situation at the University. He was also advised that no comment could be made concerning this situation. SOLTERO referred to the article which appeared in the El Imparcial on September 5, 1941 and stated he thought the matter was false and unfounded.

On September 5, 1941, ALYCE SHUPPER, of the El Imparcial newspaper was interviewed by Special Agent JACK O. PARKER in connection with other matters, and the subject of the article which appeared in that paper concerning the University of Puerto Rico became a matter for discussion. Agent PARKER asked MISS

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SHUPPER if DIAZ had any specific information as a basis for the article which appeared in the El Imparcial September 5, 1941, and she stated that she believed DIAZ was guessing when he wrote the article and did so in an attempt to make a sensational story.

It might be stated here that [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] communicated with the San Juan Office and advised that DOCTOR TUGWELL had asked Colonel ENRIQUE DE ORBETA, Chief of Insular Police, San Juan, Puerto Rico to make up a list of the individuals who organized the activity at the University of Puerto Rico, which activity was aimed at making the Governor resign his position as Chancellor of the University. [REDACTED] stated Governor TUGWELL alleged there were a number of Nationalists at the gathering fomenting trouble and wanted ORBETA to see if he had any records of these individuals being Nationalists or connected with the 1936 Nationalist uprising.

For the information of the Bureau, [REDACTED] has impressed the San Juan Office as having a definite detective complex and at times has been a nuisance to Agents of this office.

In view of the criticism directed against the "Federal Investigative Agency" by the San Juan press, reference radiogram was directed to the Bureau on September 6, 1941. However, inasmuch as the articles appearing in the San Juan press indicated that a possibility existed that the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, through members of that party placed in the University, are sponsoring the present so-called uprising, the San Juan Office was furnished with the following information by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who has been furnishing information confidentially as an informant in Nationalist matters to the San Juan Field Division for some months.

Among the University student body there are six individuals who are known to have Nationalist tendencies or to have been engaged in Nationalist activities in the past. These six individuals graduated from the University approximately eight or ten years ago and are at the present time enrolled as students by virtue of the fact that they are following one course each. They have for several years continued to remain enrolled in this capacity. It is the belief of our informant that they remain in the University for the purpose of retaining control of the student governing body in which they hold executive positions. It is also

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believed that these individuals were instructed by ALBIZU CAMPOS, the President of the Nationalist Party, and who is presently incarcerated in a United States Penitentiary, to remain in the University in order that they might retain the University as a center for the Nationalist Party in his absence.

The following are the names of the above mentioned individuals together with a short background of each:

CARLOS CARRERA BENITEZ, a Pharmacist who graduated from the Loyola University in 1936 and who at present owns a drug store in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico. He entered the University of Puerto Rico in 1931, ten years ago. CARRERA is reported to be the leader of the Nationalist group at the University and to be the most belligerent of them all. He was a delegate to the convention of the National Youth Congress held in Poughkeepsie, New York two years ago.

REVEREND DOMINGO MARRERO entered the University of Puerto Rico in 1927 and graduated in 1932. MARRERO is also reported to have been a delegate to the National Youth Congress at Poughkeepsie, New York.

REVEREND JUAN HERNANDEZ VALLES, a Protestant Minister, member of the Resolutions Committee of the Student Governing Body. Reported to have been involved in the so-called Ponce massacre in 1936 in which several Nationalists were killed.

REVEREND ISIDRO DIAZ LOPEZ, President of the Student Council, over 30 years of age.

MRS. CARMEN JULIA MARCHAND DE MIRANDA ARCHILLA first matriculated at the University in 1930. A member of the Resolutions Committee of the Student Governing Body. She comes from a family of individuals who have been involved in several incidents of violence connected with Nationalist uprisings in which on one occasion a policeman was murdered. She has frequently made statements of Nationalist tendencies.

HERNANDEZ VARGAS graduated from the Law College at the University of Puerto Rico in 1940, and is now taking a post-graduate course leading to a Master of Arts degree in Spanish.

One other individual, GEIGEL POLANCO, was originally reported to this office from a confidential informant to be the leader of this group of Nationalists at the University. Subsequent

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information however, indicates that he is Senator of the Populist Party in the Puerto Rican Senate and a political leader on the University campus. In this connection he spoke at the most recent meeting of the students of the University, and in the name of the Populist Party outlined the reforms which the party proposed to effect in the University administration. It is believed at the present time that he does not entertain Nationalist tendencies, but might possibly be taking advantage of the present situation to further his political end.

On September 3, 1941, the students of the University of Puerto Rico assembled to elect the officers of the Student Council to govern them throughout the present school year. At this meeting the six above mentioned individuals succeeded in having themselves placed in executive positions which would enable them to control all meetings of the student body for the school year 1941-42.

At the meeting speeches were made threatening that a strike of the students should be called in order to force the resignation of Chancellor TUGWELL because the Nationalists wished to have a Puerto Rican as President of the University. However, LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, who was at that time in Washington, D. C., directed a telegram to the University students which was read at the assembly in which he requested that they refrain from striking until he could speak to them. As a result of this no strike was called at the time. However, rumors persist at the University that a strike may be called despite the wishes of LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, in which there is a strong possibility that incidents of violence might occur.

In conclusion this confidential informant of the San Juan Office states that he believes the entire matter appears to be a political move on the part of this small group which wishes to see the resignation of TUGWELL. However, the informant believes that this matter should not be considered solely political, and that the San Juan Field Office should be kept apprised of the situation as it develops at the University since there is a possibility that incidents of violence could occur when and if a strike is called.

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b7D [REDACTED] also a confidential informant of the San Juan Field Division, verified the above information which was furnished by [REDACTED]

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In reference radiogram of September 7, 1941 directed to the Bureau by the San Juan Field Division, a request was made that the Bureau authorize this office to furnish the local newspapers with a statement to the effect that the Bureau is not interested in any local political situation as such, and particularly the present situation at the University.

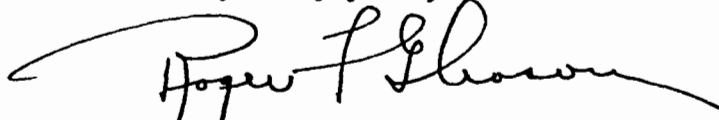
In conformance with authorization granted by the Bureau in radiogram dated September 8, 1941, the following release was given to the press [REDACTED] on September 9, 1941:

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"In connection with the recent publicity concerning activities at the University of Puerto Rico, this is to state that the San Juan Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is not conducting any inquiry into the activities of students at the University of Puerto Rico concerning internal affairs there, nor is the Federal Bureau of Investigation conducting any investigation into the political activities in Puerto Rico at this time. The FBI is limited in its investigative jurisdiction to violations of federal statutes including criminal and national defense laws. In connection with national defense investigations this office does conduct inquiries on complaints in connection with individuals who might be engaged in activities contrary to the laws above mentioned. In these investigations the FBI is interested in obtaining facts which serve to clear up the complaint proving it negative, or proving that a violation of some federal statute has occurred."

Subsequently on September 10, 1941, the local press published articles covering the statement issued by the San Juan Field Division. These articles are enclosed with this letter.

Very truly yours,



ROGER F. GLEASON  
Special Agent in Charge

WDO:WIT  
Enc.

THE PHANTOM CHANCELLOR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 bja/pam

Recent events that have occurred in connection with the University have shaken it to its very core. The protest is not voiced. Silence reigns within the old walls of our educational center as though in fear that if it were uttered the sound might soar aloft to the bell tower and be waited to the four corners of the earth. But deep down in the heart and life of the institution the protest exists and is active and gathering strength as time goes on.

As a matter of fact, the University had been anxiously awaiting a change, hopeful that this would redeem and consecrate it to higher ideals.

The University wished to be free from the rule of politics that has belittled it so long; it wished to be free from the petty personal interests that imprison it.

When the change in regime came, the University rejoiced because it believed that the pinnacle of its hopes had been attained. Alas! It waited in patience and sadness as the months passed and nothing happened. The University began to think it had been forgotten, but it did not lose its faith or give up its ideals. The turn of events came suddenly and was followed by uncertainty. The resignation of Chancellor Soto was followed by the appointment of Rexford Guy Tugwell, the man who had been pointed out several weeks before as the next governor of Puerto Rico. Did Doctor Tugwell really intend to become Chancellor? Or was he planning to become Governor? Doctor Tugwell himself cleared this matter up only to create a major dilemma. He would serve the people in both positions to the best of his ability. The people thought there was some mistake. Doctor Tugwell could not aspire to the impossible. Days went by and as no denial or explanation was forthcoming our editorial column expressed the opinion that Doctor Tugwell should be either Chancellor or Governor, but that he should not, under any circumstances, be both. Shortly afterwards it was announced from Washington that Doctor Tugwell would take leave of absence from his position as Chancellor of the University in order to become Governor of Puerto Rico. The dilemma remained. The Island was still dissatisfied. Finally, just before Dr. Tugwell sailed for Puerto Rico, news was received from Miami that Dr. Tugwell

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would resign from his position as Chancellor of the University in order to devote all of his time to the Governorship. Doctor Tugwell arrived in San Juan and the matter again became unsettled because it soon became known that Doctor Tugwell was not planning to resign from his position as Chancellor. He was going to take his oath of office, take up his duties as Chancellor for a few weeks, and then take leave of absence from the University in order to become Governor for an indefinite period of time.

Meanwhile the University would be ruled by an Acting Chancellor, acting only insofar as Doctor Tugwell's whim or his need to return to the University might permit.

So, the University feels more belittled than ever, it feels like a child which is unable to take a step and crawls around on its hands and knees. The long hoped for reform had become a provisional position without a time limit and without hope of relief.

The Island will have at the helm of its University a man who has his hands tied, unable to enter into the duties of a new undertaking with enthusiasm because of the uncertainty of his tenure of office. The University of Puerto Rico will have a Phantom Chancellor who will speak through La Fortaleza, and who will have definite authority neither over the students nor the faculty. The hope for resurrection is dead. The University of Puerto Rico will continue to be a lifeless body, chained to the material life of its budget.

Meanwhile the Governor of Puerto Rico, who is the Chancellor-in-Name of the University, will appoint the members of the Board of Trustees and will also appoint the members of the Governor's cabinet, who according to law, have the right to enter into the affairs of the University. Our University, the University for which we have dreamed so many dreams of an independent and sovereign unit, free of political entanglements, has become a mere political pawn, subject to the whims of the Governor's Palace.

Meanwhile, too, while Doctor Tugwell is Governor of Puerto Rico, and while the Acting Chancellor is a phantom whose

name we still do not know, time will pass and we will still be held in the maze of the tragic dilemma of a people who do not have a man at the helm of our highest center of learning.

In all the history of Puerto Rico there has never been anything like this. We are still unconvinced that Rexford Guy Tugwell should retain the Chancellorship of the University. We are still hoping that he will resign and thus make possible the much needed reform at the University. Gossip says that in all of this affair there are hidden motives that have not come to the surface. We hesitate to believe that - it is too absurd; but if those motives do exist, they should be brought to light.

## EL CANCELLER FANTASMA

La Universidad de Puerto Rico se siente sacudida en su entraña por los últimos acontecimientos. Las voces de protesta no trascienden. Están silenciadas entre los viejos muros del plantel, temerosas quizás de alzarse al campanario, que habría de difundirlas y alargarlas. Pero existen alma adentro; están latentes y trabajan en la vida misma de la Universidad.

De hecho, la Universidad esperaba ansiosamente la reforma, que la redimiese y consagrarse. La Universidad quería liberarse, porque se sentía enana regida en la política y aprisionada en la pequeñez de los intereses personales.

Cuando se forzó el cambio de régimen, la Universidad creyó que había llegado la hora de las exaltaciones y se llenó de esperanzas. Transcurrieron los meses en vigilia expectante y dolorosa. La Universidad pensó que estaba siendo olvidada, pero no rindió su fe ni bajó sus estándares. Inesperadamente surgieron los acontecimientos y comenzó la hora de las incertidumbres. A la renuncia del canciller Soto siguió el nombramiento de Rexford Guy Tugwell, el hombre que estaba señalado desde hacía ya semanas para la gobernación de Puerto Rico. ¿Intentaba realmente el doctor Tugwell servir la cancellería? ¿Se reservaba para la gobernación? El propio doctor Tugwell aclaró la incógnita para crear otra mayor: serviría los dos cargos a lo mejor de su capacidad. El país creyó que se trataba de un error. El doctor Tugwell no podía pretender, indudablemente, un imposible. Pasaron los días, y como no mediase negativa ni aclaración alguna a los despachos de "Prensa Unida" nuestra columna editorial se sintió obligada a intervenir y expresó, clara y rotundamente, que el doctor Tugwell debía ser Canciller o Gobernador pero jamás ambas cosas a la vez. Poco después se anunció desde Washington que el doctor Tugwell desempeñaría la gobernación con licencia de la Universidad. Continuaba el entredicho. La Isla no estaba satisfecha. Finalmente, en vísperas de embarcar hacia Puerto Rico el doctor Tugwell, otra agencia cablegráfica informó desde Miami que el doctor Tugwell renunciaría como Canciller de la Universidad para dedicar todo su empeño a la gobernación. Arribó a San Juan el doctor Tugwell y resurgieron las complicaciones, porque el doctor Tugwell no venía a renunciar la cancellería. Venía a jurar el cargo, a desempeñarlo por dos o tres semanas y a retirarse luego con licencia para asumir la gobernación por tiempo indefinido.

Mientras tanto, la Universidad sería regida por un Canciller interino, tan interino como fuese el antojo o la necesidad del doctor Tugwell de volver a la Universidad.

En otras palabras, la Universidad se siente ahora enana que nunca, incapaz de dar un paso, casi a guisa de reforma se ha convertido en un interinato que no tiene término ni plazo de redención.

El Mundo

San Juan, Puerto Rico

August 28, 1941

Junto al timón de la Universidad, un hombre con las manos atadas, sin alientos de empresa, porque estará sujeto siempre al nombramiento en propiedad del doctor Tugwell. La Universidad de Puerto Rico tendrá un Canciller fantasma, con medio despacho en Fortaleza y sin arraigo de ninguna clase en el estudiantado y en la facultad. Las esperanzas de resurrección están fallidas. La Universidad de Puerto Rico seguirá siendo un cuerpo muerto, vinculado a la vida material del presupuesto.

En el interregno, el Gobernador de Puerto Rico y Canciller-propietario de la Universidad, nombrará a los propios síndicos y nombrará a los miembros de su Gabinete que por disposiciones de ley intervienen también en los asuntos de la Universidad. Nuestra Universidad, la Universidad que durante tantos años hemos soñado independiente y soberana, redimida de los compromisos y enredijos de la política, será una sucursal de Fortaleza y un instrumento dúctil de las situaciones de gobierno.

Y en el interregno también, mientras sea Gobernador de Puerto Rico el doctor Tugwell y Canciller interino un fantasma cuyo nombre se desconoce todavía, pasarán los años y vivirá nuestra isla el entredicho de su capacidad, el entredicho doloroso y trágico de un pueblo que no tiene un hombre para dirigir en propiedad su primer centro de cultura y viene obligado a reservar el cargo. Nuestro país también está sufriendo en su entraña el dolor de la Universidad de Puerto Rico.

En toda la historia de Puerto Rico no hay una situación que le haga par a la presente; ni siquiera que se le aproxime. Nosotros nos sentimos todavía reacios al convencimiento de que Rexford Guy Tugwell retenga la Cancillería de la Universidad. Todavía alentamos la esperanza de una renuncia absoluta, que haga factible la reforma universitaria. Se ha dicho en los corrillos que en todo este revuelo hay motivos ocultos que no pueden informarse al país. Nos resistimos a creerlo, pese al absurdo de ciertas actuaciones; pero si esos motivos existiesen, hora sobrada es ya de que resplandezcan a la luz de la opinión. Aún estamos a tiempo de convencernos o de exigir saludables rectificaciones...

EL IMPARCIAL  
San Juan, Puerto Rico  
September 5, 1941

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DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 bja/pkm

NATIONALIST-COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO  
UNDER INVESTIGATION

The report that the work of the recent University assembly was controlled by known Nationalist-Communist individuals has been brought to the attention of the investigative authorities located in Puerto Rico, who are keeping themselves informed on the activities at the University. The fact that the Resolutions Committee was made up for the most part of students with radical tendencies and the presence in this meeting of persons who are not regularly enrolled as students, are the facts pointed out as being of greatest interest to the investigative authorities.

Photographs have been taken of the Resolutions Committee and of the President and will be used as a basis for studying the political history of these individuals for the last six years.

One of the highest officials of the University with whom we talked privately yesterday, pointed out the student movement as one of Nationalist-Communist origin and tendencies. Later reports indicate that the federal investigative authorities have already taken steps in the matter.

NATIONALIST TACTICS

Generally well informed sources indicated last night "that it appears that the Nationalist strategy is to maintain at the University a group of agitators (generally students taking only one course) in order that they may not lose any opportunity to spread propaganda.

Among the Nationalist leaders who are in this groups these sources mentioned CARLOS CARRERA BENITEZ, the Reverend JUAN

HERNANDEZ VALLES, FRANCISCO HERNANDEZ VARGAS, the Reverend DOMINGO MARRERO and others.

Last night we were informed that the Federal investigative authorities have in their files "interesting data concerning the political activities of some of those leaders in the present University movement."

THEY HAVE NOT VIOLATED ANY LAW.

Federal authorities have refused to enter into any discussion as to whether or not they are taking any steps in an investigation of the events at the University.

Nevertheless, well informed sources indicated that "possibly some agents are keeping a close watch on all the activities at the University," but that "up to the present no laws have been broken."

#### ANOTHER VERSION

Another version which has circulated indicates as another possible point of interest for the federal authorities, the report published by the press yesterday to the effect that law student MANUEL A. MOREDA had publicly accused CARLOS CARRERA BENITEZ before the student assembly of being a "prominent Nationalist leader" and requested the resignation of the President of the student body.

The resolutions proposed at the open assembly by MARCELINO FLORES RODRIGUEZ and LUIS D. MIRANDA that the assembly was dominated by a group of five or six University students was taken to mean that the Nationalists are in control in view of the fact that CARLOS CARRERA BENITEZ was presiding, and other leaders mentioned above, take active part in the meetings.

# INVESTIGAN MOVIMIENTO NACIONAL-COMUNISTA UNIVERSIDAD P.R.

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(Pasa a la pag. 6)

El Imparcial  
San Juan, Puerto Rico  
September 5, 1941

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# INVESTIGAN...

(Continuación de la 1ra. página)

de origen y tendencias nacionalistas-comunistas." Informes posteriores recogidos por un compañero nuestro, indicaban que "ya las autoridades federales de investigación, han tomado cartas en el asunto."

## Táctica nacionalista

Círculos generalmente bien informados indicaron anoche que "parece que la táctica nacionalista es la de mantener en la Universidad a un grupo de agitadores como estudiantes irregulares para que no desperdicien oportunidad para hacer propaganda". Entre "los líderes nacionalistas que figuran como estudiantes" irregulares se mencionaron en estos círculos a Carlos Carrera Benítez, Reverendo Juan Hernández Vallés, Francisco Hernández Vargas, Reverendo Domingo Marrero y otros.

Anoche se nos informó que las autoridades federales de investigación tiene archivados "interesantes datos sobre las actividades políticas de algunos de los líderes del presente movimiento universitario".

## No han violado ley alguna

Las autoridades federales han rehusado entrar a discutir si están interviniendo directa o indirectamente en alguna investigación en relación con el movimiento universitario. Sin embargo, fuentes bien informadas, indican que "posiblemente algunas autoridades federales...

## Otra versión

Otra versión que circulaba indicaba también como posible móvil de la preocupación de las autoridades, la información publicada en la prensa de ayer en el sentido de que el estudiante de Derecho, Manuel A. Moreda, había acusado públicamente ante la asamblea a Carlos Carrera Benítez, de ser un "prominente líder nacionalista", solicitando que la presidencia fuese declarada vacante.

La protesta formulada en plena asamblea por los jóvenes Marcelino Flores Rodríguez y Luis D. Miranda, denunciando el hecho de que "la asamblea estaba dominada por un grupo de cinco o seis universitarios", ha sido entendida también como indicativa de que "los nacionalistas controlaban los trabajos", toda vez que Carlos Carrera Benítez presidía, mientras los otros líderes que arriba hemos citado tomaban la más destacada participación.

EL MUNDO  
San Juan, Puerto Rico  
September 6, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-9-88 BY SP4 bja/pam

## THE SITUATION AT THE UNIVERSITY

NOW WE ARE THREATENED BY THE G-MEN

By Luis Rechani Agrait

One of the highest officials of the University, with whom we were talking privately yesterday, pointed to the student movement as one of "nationalist-communist origin and tendencies." Information obtained later by a fellow reporter indicates that the "federal investigative authorities have already taken part in the matter." EL IMPARCIAL, September 5, 1941.

Up to the time we went to press early this morning the administrative office of the University, under Doctor TUGWELL, had not denied the information given to the Press by "one of its highest officials."

Yesterday afternoon, one of the reporters from EL MUNDO inquired about this report in the office of the federal agents, and they refused to comment.

The report, therefore, remains in status quo. Accordingly, therefore, the federal police are checking up on some of the students for the crime of having dared to question the wisdom of making Doctor TUGWELL both Governor and Chancellor.

We knew about that little gang of professors who are interested in playing politics and slipping from one thing to another in the university budget, and which filled the Wednesday student assembly. We knew about... .. But we never thought that those figures which have been moving around silently in the shadows would even pretend to put the federal agents on the trail of those who were too strong to bow to their wiles.

In accordance with the report which we quote, a reign of terror has been introduced at the University.

"One of the highest officials of the University" has taken it upon himself to give the voice of alarm.

We must bow to Doctor TUGWELL in the double position of Chancellor and Governor, or we must submit to an investigation by federal police.

This creates a situation which is so hard to characterize that we can hardly believe that it is true that the G-Men have allowed themselves to be duped into taking part in these manoeuvres. It would rather appear that that "high official at the University" has received a false version which has been prepared deliberately for the purpose of confusing and terrorizing the students.

Whoever made up that tale must have a very poor knowledge of psychology if they thought that coarse threat would win for them a single vote in favor of Dt. Tugwell.

Threats may have some effect on a starving aspirant to a higher position.....but they will never reach the point where they will have bowing before them those who have even the normal pride in their convictions.....

.....And the verdict of the people would be too strong and too hard to take if in order to justify or impose that illegality it was necessary to call in the federal police.....

TRANSLATION  
GEH 9-6-41

**Poc Luis RECHANI AGRAIT**

Flaco y los políticos se están  
asumiendo la responsabilidad

El Mundo  
San Juan P.R.  
September 6, 1941

neamente a un hombre en dos papeles incompatibles tendría algún día que responder ante el pueblo. Y demasiado de duro habría de ser el veredicto del pueblo si para justificar o imponer esa ilegalidad se echa mano de la Policía federal.

Esténse quietos en sus salones de clase esos politiquitos teorizantes que por volición o tirados de las orejas por otros más altos, se han lanzado a querer sostener al doctor Tugwell en sus dos cargos a la tremenda. Esténse quietos, que puede ser que su jefe cuando llegue el lunes, con más visión que ellos, tenga que flagelarlos por haberle sido muy fieles al partido, pero muy desleales al pueblo.

Cierren el pico esos acólitos que sueñan con persecuciones estilo Gekapo contra los que no se avengan a comulgar con ruedas de molino, que todavía puede ser que el mismo doctor Tugwell encuentre que eso es serle muy fiel a él personalmente, pero muy desleal a las más elementales virtudes ciudadanas.

No es con amenazas policiacas que se ganan simpatías para un partido ni para una causa.

No es con el terror que se convence a los universitarios.

No es con la evocación bastarda de persecuciones y de cárceles.

No son ellos, los que protestan, los que están fuera de la ley. De ningún modo puede procesárseles.

No hay nada más que una cosa fuera de la ley en toda esta crisis que se ha precipitado. Y ésa es la ocupación simultánea por un hombre de dos cargos incompatibles.

Lluevan las amenazas que lluevan, el dilema persistirá en pie como una arista: O Gobernador o Canciller.

Y mientras más amenazas lluevan y más se tarde en resolver una situación tan clara, en peores condiciones se encontrará el señor Tugwell. Porque si el señor Tugwell se deja enredar demasiado en la madeja que un grupo de politiquitos se ha empeñado en tejer en derredor suyo, puede llegar a encontrarse súbitamente con que no va a estar en condiciones de ser ni Canciller ni Gobernador.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Juan, Puerto Rico

September 9, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-00 BY SP4 bjp/PAM

In connection with the recent publicity concerning activities at the University of Puerto Rico, this is to state that the San Juan Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is not conducting any inquiry into the activities of students at the University of Puerto Rico concerning internal affairs there, nor is the Federal Bureau of Investigation conducting any investigation into the political activities in Puerto Rico at this time. The F.B.I. is limited in its investigative jurisdiction to violations of federal statutes including criminal and national defense laws. In connection with national defense investigations this office does conduct inquiries on complaints in connection with individuals who might be engaged in activities contrary to the laws above mentioned. In these investigations the F.B.I. is interested in obtaining facts which serve to clear up the complaint proving it negative, or proving that a violation of some federal statute has occurred.

ROGER F. GLEASON  
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

EL IMPARCIAL  
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO  
September 10, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3-9-80

BY SP4 bjp/ram

G-MEN ARE NOT INVESTIGATING INTERNAL AFFAIRS AT THE UNIVERSITY  
OF PUERTO RICO

Lawyer ROGER F. GLEASON, Special Agent in Charge of the San Juan Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation issued the following statement to the press yesterday:

In connection with the recent publicity concerning activities at the University of Puerto Rico, this is to state that the San Juan Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is not conducting any inquiry into the activities of students at the University of Puerto Rico concerning internal affairs there, nor is the Federal Bureau of Investigation conducting any investigation into the political activities in Puerto Rico at this time. The F.B.I. is limited in its investigative jurisdiction to violations of federal statutes including criminal and national defense laws. In connection with national defense investigations this office does conduct inquiries on complaints in connection with individuals who might be engaged in activities contrary to the laws above mentioned. In these investigations the F.B.I. is interested in obtaining facts which serve to clear up the complaint proving it negative, or proving that a violation of some federal statute has occurred.

Mr. GLEASON also stated that up to the present time he has not received any request from members of the Faculty of the University or from any other officials in connection with this matter.

WE WERE NOT THE ONES.

Mr. GLEASON'S statement to the press yesterday was apparently issued for the purpose of denying the report published by El Imparcial to the effect that an investigation of Nationalist

and Communist activities was being conducted at the University. El Imparcial never stated that the G-Men were conducting these investigations. We only said that federal investigative agents were conducting this investigation in spite of the fact that no violation had occurred up to that time. There are in Puerto Rico at the present time several federal agencies conducting secret investigations in connection with all kinds of activities, and as we had reports to the effect that an investigation was being conducted, we gave this information to our readers. It was El Mundo which, in attempt to rectify our report, published an article entitled "Now they are being threatened with the G-Men," which leads one to believe that the G-Men were conducting an investigation at the University.

TRANSLATION  
GEH 9-10-41

68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-9-00 BY SP8/bja/PAM

## G-MEN NO INVESTIGAN ASUNTOS INTERNOS DE UNIVERSIDAD DE P. R.

El licenciado Roger F. Gleason, Jefe de la Oficina en Puerto Rico del Negociado Federal de Investigaciones, entregó ayer tarde a la prensa la siguiente nota:

"En relación con la publicidad de ciertas actividades en la Universidad de Puerto Rico, deseamos aclarar que esta oficina no está practicando ninguna investigación de las actividades de los estudiantes de la Universidad, concernientes a asuntos internos, ni está el Negociado Federal de Investigaciones practicando investigación alguna de las actividades políticas en Puerto Rico en el presente. Este negociado tiene limitada su jurisdicción a violaciones de leyes federales incluyendo criminales y leyes de la defensa nacional. En conexión con investigaciones sobre la defensa nacional, esta oficina practica investigaciones de quejas que se formulan en conexión con individuos que pueden estar dedicados a actividades contrarias a las leyes antes mencionadas. En

estas investigaciones el Negociado está interesado en obtener hechos que pueden utilizarse para esclarecer la queja, probando la negativa o probando que se ha cometido una violación a un estatuto federal.

El señor Gleason dijo además que hasta ahora no ha recibido alguna de miembros de la Facultad de la Universidad ni de ningún oficial de dicho centro en relación con este asunto.

### No fuimos nosotros...

La nota del señor Gleason aparentemente ha sido hecha con el propósito de negar la información publicada por EL IMPARCIAL de que se estaban investigando actividades nacionalistas y comunistas en la Universidad. EL IMPARCIAL en ningún momento ha informado que los G-Men están practicando estas investigaciones, sino que solo nos fuimos a buscar a los agentes federales de investigación que están practicando la misma. que hasta la fecha no se ha cometido ninguna violación federal. En Puerto Rico hay varias personas...

*El Imparcial  
San Juan, P.R.  
September 10, 1941*

EL MUNDO  
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO  
September 10, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 bjp/paw

G-MEN ARE NOT INVESTIGATING THE AFFAIR AT THE UNIVERSITY  
STATEMENT TO THIS EFFECT WAS MADE YESTERDAY BY SPECIAL AGENT IN  
CHARGE GLEASON. AN ATTEMPT AT COERCION THWARTED.

The San Juan Division of the Federal Bureau of Investi-  
gation issued the following statement yesterday:

In connection with the recent publicity concerning  
activities at the University of Puerto Rico, this is to  
state that the San Juan Division of the Federal Bureau of  
Investigation is not conducting any inquiry into the activi-  
ties of students at the University of Puerto Rico concerning  
internal affairs there, nor is the Federal Bureau of Inves-  
tigation conducting any investigation into the political  
activities in Puerto Rico at this time.

The F.B.I. is limited in its investigative juris-  
diction to violations of federal statutes including criminal  
and national defense laws. In connection with national  
defense investigations this office does conduct inquiries  
on complaints in connection with individuals who might be  
engaged in activities contrary to the laws above mentioned.  
In these investigations the F.B.I. is interested in obtaining  
facts which serve to clear up the complaint proving it nega-  
tive, or proving that a violation of some federal statute  
has occurred.

#### GLEASON ANSWERS A QUESTION

At the press conference held yesterday by Mr. GLEASON,  
Special Agent in Charge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
one of our reporters asked the following question:

Has any one from the University, or any other person,  
requested your office to conduct an investigation in connection  
with the activities of the students in the conflict connected  
with the Chancellor?

To which Mr. GLEASON replied: "No." And added that he had not received any request for any investigation in this matter.

#### WHAT WAS BEHIND THIS REPORT?

As our readers will recall, a San Juan paper printed last Friday under front page headlines, a report which stated, among other things, that "One of the highest officials of the University with whom we talked privately yesterday pointed to the student movement as 'one of Nationalist-Communist origin and tendencies.' Later information obtained by one of our reporters indicates 'that federal investigative authorities are already taking steps in this matter'."

On that same day we asked about this matter at the offices of the FBI at San Juan but they refused to comment. In spite of the fact that they did not deny the report we were of the opinion that what was occurring was that someone had made up the story in order to try to confuse and coerce the student body. This opinion was expressed in El Mundo by one of our editors, LUIS RECHANI AGRAIT, in a signed editorial. Succeeding events prove this to be a fact. The G-Men deny that they are making any investigation of the kind referred to.

So - who is responsible for this story? What was the purpose behind the story if it was not to coerce the student body? Who is the high official of the University to whom the report refers? What does the Administrative Office of the University have to say about this high official?

We believe that all of these points should be cleared up.

TRANSLATION  
GEH 9-30-41

INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 bja/PAL

## G-Men no están investigando nada en la Universidad

Así lo hace constar el jefe de la oficina federal de investigaciones, señor Gleason.-Se destruye un intento de coacción

La oficina de San Juan del Negociado Federal de Investigaciones (FBI) autorizó ayer la siguiente nota:

"En conexión con la reciente publicidad concerniente a actividades en la Universidad de Puerto Rico, la presente es para declarar que la División que en San Juan tiene el Negociado Federal de Investigaciones no está realizando ninguna investigación en las actividades de los estudiantes de la Universidad de Puerto Rico en relación con los asuntos internos de la Universidad, ni está el Negociado Federal de Investigaciones realizando ninguna investigación en las actividades políticas de Puerto Rico en este momento.

El Negociado Federal de Investigaciones se limita en su jurisdicción investigadora a violaciones de los estatutos federales, incluso las leyes criminales y de la defensa nacional. Referente a las investigaciones de la defensa nacional esta oficina lleva a cabo investigaciones sobre querellas en conexión con individuos que puedan estar dedicados a actividades contrarias a las leyes arriba mencionadas. En estas investigaciones el Negociado Federal de Investigaciones está interesado en obtener los hechos que sirvan para aclarar la querella probándola

negativa, o para probar que ha ocurrido alguna violación de algún estatuto federal."

### Gleason contesta una pregunta

En la conferencia de Prensa celebrada ayer por el Sr. Gleason, jefe de la Oficina Federal de Investigaciones, un redactor nuestro le preguntó específicamente lo siguiente:

¿Alguien de la Universidad, estudiantes, maestros, u oficiales, o cualquier otra persona solicitó de esta oficina (la de los G-Men) una investigación sobre actividades de los estudiantes, en el conflicto relacionado con la Cancillería?

El Sr. Gleason contestó: "No". Y agregó que no había recibido ninguna petición de nadie para investigar este asunto.

### ¿Qué habla detrás de la noticia?

Como recordará el lector, el viernes pasado uno de los diarios de San Juan, en primera plana y a grandes titulares, publicó una información que entre otras cosas decía: "Uno de los más altos funcionarios de la Universidad con quien  
(Continúa en la página 16)

## G-MEN NO ESTAN...

(Continuación de la pág. 1ra.)

estuvimos departiendo privadamente ayer, nos señaló el movimiento estudiantil como 'uno de origen y tendencias nacionalistas-comunistas. Informes posteriores recogidos por un compañero nuestro, indicaban que 'ya las autoridades federales de investigación han tomado cartas en el asunto.'"

El mismo viernes preguntamos sobre esta noticia en las oficinas de la FBI en San Juan, la cual se negó a autorizar comentario alguno. A pesar de que dicha oficina no negó entonces dicha información, supusimos q. lo que probablemente estaba sucediendo era que alguien había lanzado el infundio en un evidente intento de confundir y coaccionar a una parte del estudiantado universitario. Este mismo criterio lo expresó en nuestras columnas nuestro redactor señor Luis Rechanl Agrait en un artículo firmado. Los hechos han venido a corroborar aquella suposición. Los G-Men niegan que estén haciendo investigación alguna de la clase aludida.

Ahora bien, ¿quien lanzó el infundio? ¿Con qué propósito, si no fué coaccionar a un grupo de estudiantes? ¿Quién es el alto funcionario de la Universidad a que se refiere la información? ¿Qué tiene la Administración de la Universidad que decir sobre la afirmación de ese alto funcionario?

Estos son otros extremos que también debieran aclararse para acabar de desbaratar ese claro intento de coacción.

El Mundo  
San Juan, P.R.  
September 10, 1941

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DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 bja/pml

## U. Not Under F. B. I. Inquiry Says Gleason

### No Investigation Being Made Of Students In Tugwell Appointment

Student activities at the University of Puerto Rico in connection with the appointment of Gov. Rexford Guy Tugwell as chancellor are not being investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as has been reported, it was announced yesterday by Rober F. Gleason, special agent in charge of the San Juan office of the FBI.

"The F.B.I. is limited in its investigative jurisdiction to violations of federal statutes, including criminal and national defense laws," Gleason explained. "We are not conducting any inquiry into the activities of students at the University concerning internal affairs there; nor is the F.B.I. conducting any investigation into the political activities in Puerto Rico at this time."

The special agent added that the Bureau does conduct inquiries on complaints concerning individuals who might be engaged in activities contrary to the national defense laws.

*World Journal  
San Juan, P.R.  
September 10, 1941*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

200

SEP 12 1941

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DATE 3-9-80 BY SP4/bja/PMU

FBI SAN JUAN 9-12-41 7-59 PM NR 59 FROM WFBE

DIRECTOR

NATIONALIST ACTIVITIES UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO. REFERENCE LETTER  
SAN JUAN DIVISION TO BUREAU SEPTEMBER TENTH LAST . STUDENT MEETING  
CALLED ON SEPTEMBER ELEVEN LAST TO HEAR SPEECH OF MUNOZ MARIN  
OUTLINING REASONS FOR RETAINING TUGWELL AS UNIVERSITY CHANCELLOR.  
IMMEDIATELY AFTER SPEECH ABOUT SEVEN OR EIGHT HUNDRED STUDENTS LED  
BY ISIDRO DIAZ LOPEZ AND HERNANDEZ VARGAS PASSED RESOLUTION  
REQUESTING RESIGNATION OF TUGWELL. THEN ABOUT FIVE HUNDRED STUDENTS  
WALKED OUTSIDE OF ASSEMBLY HALL AND GATHERED OUTSIDE WHERE THEY  
PASSED RESOLUTION NULLIFYING THOSE OF MAJORITY AND REQUESTING  
RETAINING TUGWELL. INFORMANT OF ABOVE MENTIONED INFORMATION PREDICTS  
TUGWELL WILL RESIGN CHANCELLORSHIP WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

CII-22  
168

COPY SENT TO  
MR. TAMM  
(Morris)

RECORDED

INDEXED

100-5745-1
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 SEP 18 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FOR WORTH FIVE

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Jones  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice**

San Juan, Puerto Rico  
September 12, 1941

100-302

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 bjp/PAW  
ON 3-9-00

Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D. C.

Re: LUIS MUNOZ MARIN;  
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated August 25, 1941 outlining instructions regarding the possibility that the Military Intelligence Division in San Juan was overstepping the delimitation agreement in this particular case.

I have looked into this matter rather carefully and believe that there has been no attempt to infringe on the Bureau's jurisdiction in the matter. Of course, the Army authorities here have a great deal of interest in general conditions on the Island, particularly due to the fact that at the present time there is in progress a complete change in political control and the party going into power is under the reins of the subject of this case.

I have conferred with Colonel CONWAY concerning the matter in a diplomatic manner, and he informs me that for a number of years the Army authorities here have been gathering information on general political conditions in Puerto Rico because of the fact that they might effect the Army's work here.

In this connection Colonel CONWAY advised me that he has some material on the matter and would be very glad indeed to make it available to this office in connection with the investigation of this case. I have arranged for Special Agent, JACK O. PARKER, who is handling the case, to confer with the Army Intelligence officer most familiar with the matter so that the Bureau files would be complete. I feel that the matter has been over estimated and I do not believe there is any attempt in this particular case to overstep the agreement.

With regard to the report which has been submitted by Special Agent, JACK O. PARKER dated August 16, 1941. Due to the extremely confidential nature of the matter and the political

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Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

9/20/41

RECORDED 100-5745-19

A

OK

Letter to the Director

September 12, 1941

aspects of the subject, I arranged to make a copy of this report available to Colonel CONWAY and the Commanding General, and the report has been returned to me. I specifically requested Colonel CONWAY that only he and the Commanding General should be cognizant of the fact the report exists. I have followed the same procedure with the Navy, making a copy of the report available to Commander WALKER for the attention of the Admiral only.

Investigation of this matter is being handled very discreetly due to the prominence of the subject, and if any information is developed that he may be tied up with Communist groups or in any way involved in violations of Federal Statutes, it will be reported promptly to the Bureau.

Very truly yours



ROGER F. GLEASON  
Special Agent in Charge

RFG:WIT

RECEIVED

RPK:TD  
100-5745

September 20, 1941

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 bja/pau  
# 8-7-00

Mr. R. F. Gleason  
Special Agent in Charge  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
San Juan, Puerto Rico

Re: LUIS MUNOZ MARIN;  
Internal Security

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter dated September 12, 1941, outlining the developments with respect to the above entitled case and informing as to your discussions with representatives of the Military Intelligence Division.

It is important, of course, that you make every effort to insure that the Bureau's jurisdiction in national defense matters will be appropriately maintained in your district, both with respect to this matter and any similar matters which may arise. I shall expect you to keep the Bureau currently advised as to the progress of this case and your relationship with the Military Intelligence Division.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Foxworth \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Drayton \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

174 91 106  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
SEP 22 1941  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RK  
JLH

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **San Juan, Puerto Rico**

FILE NO. **100-302**

REPORT MADE AT <b>San Juan, Puerto Rico</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>4/1/43</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>1/16, 20; 2/9, 12; 3/23, 29/43</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>NIXON BUTT, JR.</b> <span style="float: right;"><b>rf</b></span>
TITLE <b>JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN; ET AL</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C CUSTODIAL DETENTION</b>
<b>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE <u>3-9-00</u> BY <u>SP-11/BJA/PUL</u></b>			
<p><b>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</b> JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, president of Puerto Rican Senate, alleged to have used Communist Party principles and leaders to gain political power during elections of 1940; since then, for practical reasons, has not aligned himself with Communists. Described by reliable informants to be intellectual with bad case of "Puerto Rican inferiority complex," which results in anti-American tendencies. He is not considered dangerous to point of acts against United States. Is known to be personally completely irresponsible; reported by reliable informants to be heavy drinker and narcotics addict.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">P</p> <p><b>REFERENCE:</b> 100-5745. Report of Special Agent JACK O. PARKER, San Juan, Puerto Rico, dated 8-16-41.</p> <p><b>DETAILS:</b> During the course of another internal security investigation the following information was volunteered by informant T-1, who is regarded by a large number [REDACTED] his reliability being considered excellent insofar as his past record with the San Juan Field Division is concerned. It is not known how much of the following information [REDACTED] It is known that T-1's sources of information are many and according to T-1's own statement he was in [REDACTED] at which time he talked with [REDACTED]</p> <p style="margin-left: 100px;">T-1 stated [REDACTED]</p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	
COPIES DESTROYED <b>3/27/54</b>		DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 Bureau <i>cc State Dept cc Div. of Records attending Smith</i> 2 San Juan <i>8/21/43 R-13</i>		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> <b>RECORDED &amp; INDEXED</b>   <b>EX-25</b> </div>	

b7c  
b7D

[REDACTED]

It is to be noted this was a law suit of great importance. It involved back wages claimed due under the Wage and Hour law, the amount claimed being about \$2,500,000.00. The suit was settled by JAIME SALDANA for \$780,000.00. As a matter of interest, at the present time ERNESTO RAMOS-ANTONINI, who is the subject of an Internal Security - C case in the San Juan Field Division, is, notwithstanding the settlement negotiated by JAIME SALDANA, suing the American Railway of Puerto Rico for the difference between the amount of the settlement and the total amount of the original claim. T-1 interprets the close connection between MUNOZ MARIN and SALDANA to be an indication that the president of the Puerto Rican Senate, MUNOZ MARIN, probably received a part of SALDANA's fee..

For about fifteen minutes T-1 discussed in a general way various aspects of MUNOZ MARIN's life and activities. It is not the belief of T-1 that MUNOZ MARIN receives a great amount of money from direct graft, but receives his money from sources such as the probable split with SALDANA in the American Railway case. T-1 surmises that the bill for whiskey alone of the subject runs around \$2,000.00 a year.

T-1 stated at the present time MUNOZ MARIN has a suite of rooms at the Normandie Hotel in San Juan. Prior to this time he had an apartment at the Escambron Beach Club in San Juan, where he ran up a bill of about \$650.00. Recently the management of the Escambron Beach Club called upon MUNOZ MARIN and asked him what they could expect with regard to this bill. T-1 said MUNOZ MARIN told them to forget it and charge it off as a loss. However, MUNOZ MARIN suggested to the management of the Escambron that they would probably be able to get a deduction for this \$650.00 on their income tax..

T-1 gave a brief history of the relationship between Governor TUGWELL and MUNOZ MARIN, which involved their acquaintanceship prior to the time Mr. TUGWELL was sent by the Department of Interior to the Island in 1941 as a representative to deal with the "five hundred acre" proposed limit on sugar land held by one person or by one corporation. This proposed legislation was favored by MUNOZ MARIN. Later in 1941 MUNOZ MARIN had Mr. TUGWELL appointed as Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico at a salary of reportedly \$25,000.00 a year. Further T-1 stated MUNOZ MARIN, as it was well known, had wanted to continue to have Mr. TUGWELL as Governor of Puerto Rico and as Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico. However, this plan was not successful except for a short period of time.

According to T-1, Mr. TUGWELL received the office of Governor of Puerto Rico due almost entirely to the efforts of MUNOZ MARIN. As time passed, pressure on Governor TUGWELL grew stronger until at the present time the only influential man who is really standing by Governor TUGWELL is MUNOZ MARIN, according to T-1.

San Juan File 100-302

OGA T-1 informed this has naturally created a situation which has made Governor TUGWELL almost totally dependent upon MUNOZ MARIN. According to T-1, during the latter part of December, 1942, there was a certain Colonel FLANNAGAN doing some petroleum investigative work in Puerto Rico. In addition to these duties, he was, according to T-1 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] to mean that MUNOZ MARIN was so much more dominant than Governor TUGWELL that MUNOZ MARIN could obtain Governor TUGWELL's acquiescence to almost anything, and that in reality MUNOZ MARIN was exercising the functions of the office of the Governor of Puerto Rico as well as the functions of the office of president of the Puerto Rican Senate.

T-1 stated in his opinion if Governor TUGWELL were forced to resign as Governor of Puerto Rico or there were a change in any manner in the Governor of Puerto Rico, he expected MUNOZ MARIN to take care of Governor TUGWELL by again appointing him as Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico.

In the course of another investigation and in a very general manner, T-2, who is known to be exceedingly reliable, stated MUNOZ MARIN was a member of the intellectuals who predominated in the leadership of the Popular Party, each of whom has a bad case of "Puerto Rican inferiority complex." T-2 stated MUNOZ MARIN was anti-American chiefly as a result of this feeling of inferiority, but was not dangerous to the United States insofar as any acts against the United States were concerned. He advised it was well known by him that MUNOZ MARIN had, during the elections of 1940, courted the favor of COMMUNIST leaders and had certainly incorporated in his Popular Party platforms some COMMUNIST ideals. But, according to T-2, MUNOZ MARIN, for practical reasons, has since the elections steered clear of the COMMUNIST PARTY. T-2 described MUNOZ MARIN as being completely and thoroughly irresponsible in his personal life.

T-3 confidentially advised Special Agent CARL E. STANFORD of the San Juan Office he had learned that MUNOZ MARIN was involved in an important narcotics case, but nothing was being done about this case inasmuch as MUNOZ MARIN would fire all members of the Insular Government Narcotics Bureau if prosecution were even contemplated. T-3 stated the Customs Service, U. S. Treasury Department, San Juan, Puerto Rico, had been informed of the existence of MUNOZ MARIN's participation in the narcotics case.

T-4, who is considered reliable by the San Juan Office, stated he had received certain information concerning the narcotics case in which MUNOZ MARIN was involved. [REDACTED]

OGA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

OGA  
[REDACTED]

T-5, during the course of lunch one day, gave the writer some casual information concerning MUNOZ MARIN. T-5 has long heard that RUBY BLACK, Washington newspaper correspondent, is the illegitimate half-sister of MUNOZ MARIN. It seems she is the daughter of LUIS MUNOZ-RIVERA, father of MUNOZ MARIN, and of a mistress he had while he was Resident Commissioner in Washington, D. C. from 1910 to 1916. During 1936 T-5 was staying at the Dupont Circle Apartment Hotel, Washington, D. C., his room being directly across the hall from that of MUNOZ MARIN. Frequently MUNOZ MARIN would have RUBY BLACK at his apartment as his guest. On one occasion T-5 went over to see MUNOZ MARIN, thinking he was alone in his room. MUNOZ MARIN was lying on the bed in his shorts and RUBY BLACK was sitting a chair, talking to him. This familiarity of conduct, according to T-5, strengthened his opinion that RUBY BLACK might be the illegitimate half-sister of MUNOZ MARIN.

Around the middle of February, 1943, T-5 heard from what he said he considered a reliable source, that MUNOZ MARIN around the first of February, 1943, had gotten thoroughly drunk in company with VICENTE GEIGEL-POLANCO, the Majority Leader in the Senate of Puerto Rico, the two being in front of the Normandie Hotel in San Juan. An Insular Policeman, seeing Munoz Marin in such a state, went to him and asked if he could do anything for him. MUNOZ MARIN answered by cursing the policeman and telling him to, "Get the Hell away from here." Evidently MUNOZ MARIN reconsidered for in a few moments he called the policeman and told him to immediately get an Insular government car. The policeman went over to the chauffeur of the car waiting for the Director of Education of Puerto Rico and told him that MUNOZ MARIN wanted to use an Insular Government car. The chauffeur said he could not drive MUNOZ MARIN in that car inasmuch as he had been instructed by the Director of Education to wait until the Director of Education came out of the Normandie Hotel. MUNOZ MARIN, seeing there was some delay, went over to the car, got in, and ordered the chauffeur to drive him and GEIGEL-POLANCO; this the chauffeur, in protest, was forced to do.

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It was determined in a discreet manner that MUNOZ MARIN is registered with Selective Service Local Board 97, Santurce, Puerto Rico.

By memorandum dated October 3, 1941, Special Agent JACK O. PARKER, formerly of the San Juan Office, submitted the following information.

T-6 advised that she [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] with LUIS MUNOZ MARIN for an interview. He advised them he would meet them at the Escambron Beach Club at 7:00 P.M.

67C MUNOZ MARIN arrived at about 8:00 P.M. and ordered drinks and they began their discussion. They asked him a number of questions regarding social conditions in Puerto Rico and to all of their questions he was evasive. Upon learning that T-6 [REDACTED] MUNOZ remarked that the Russian economy was a wonderful thing and the people of Russia were doing great things. The girl of Russian descent immediately disagreed with him and advised him [REDACTED]

To this MUNOZ appeared to become displeased and ordered more drinks. A few minutes later something made him angry and he swept all the drinks from the table with his arm and his friends who were standing nearby came over to the table and suggested he go home and he swore at them and told them to keep their place that he would stay as long as he pleased and it was 1:00 A.M. before T-6 and her friend were able to leave MUNOZ. He became so intoxicated he was hardly able to walk when they left the place.

The above information was obtained casually by reporting agent and agent asked no questions of T-6 which would indicate any interest in MUNOZ.

By memorandum dated October 3, 1941, Special Agent PARKER submitted the following information.

T-7 advised that when REXFORD GUY TUGWELL was in Puerto Rico during the spring of 1941 holding hearings on the five hundred acre law, he was reading a plan which had been advanced by his commission and EDMUNDO COLON, an Agriculture Engineer and onetime Insular Commissioner of Agriculture who is presently employed at the Central Mercidita interrupted the reading and said he had read the plan which was being read by TUGWELL verbatim in KROPATRIN's book, KROPATRIN being a Russian Communist economist.

The following article appeared in "La Democracia" in Spanish, September 3, 1942:

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**"THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE FREE TO APPROVE  
A CONSTITUTION"**

**"MUNOZ MARIN RESTATES HIS BELIEF THAT WHEN THE WAR IS OVER THE  
DEFINITE STATUS OF PUERTO RICO WILL BE DETERMINED IN HARMONY  
WITH THE ATLANTIC CHARTER.**

In his first conference granted to the press in the last few months, the President of the Senate, don LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, stated he is confident that as soon as the war is over, Puerto Ricans will be given an opportunity to freely approve a constitution for the definite solution of the political 'status' of the Island. In reply to questioning, the President of the Senate expressed himself as follows -

'Puerto Rico has advanced further in the last year towards a solution of its political status than ever before. Not towards a determined political "status" in view of the fact the Popular electorate did not vote either in favor or against a determined political "status" of any kind, but towards putting an end to the colonial situation in accordance with the will of the people of Puerto Rico. I am confident that an opportunity to put an end to the colonial system - in accordance with the Atlantic Charter signed by Roosevelt and Churchill - will not be delayed beyond the establishment of peace, to the triumph of the democracies in the present war.'

Questioned in connection with the matter of an elective governor, Senator MUNOZ MARIN stated as follows -

'The matter of an Elective Governor is an indisputably progressive step, but what will solve the status definitely for both the United States and for Puerto Rico, is the free adoption of a constitution by the people of Puerto Rico themselves.'

Questioned about the conditions, which in his opinion, the new Chancellor of the University should have, MUNOZ MARIN said -

'In my opinion, the Chancellor of the University, whoever he may be, should be fully aware, without any shadow of doubt, of the developments which are occurring in the world and especially in Puerto Rico, besides having the professional requirements peculiar to the position.'

He was questioned about the opposition of Attorney General MALCOLM and Auditor FITZSIMMONS to certain laws approved by the Legislature. MUNOZ MARIN made the following comment -

'If the opposition of a public servant to legislation which has the democratic backing of the people, were systematic opposition, and the desire to make a personal opinion prevail against the will of the people, it is evident that either the public servant must go, or the people must go. And as the people cannot and should not go, the conclusion to be drawn is evident. If it were not this way the people could not understand clearly the deep and noble motives of this war.'

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"When the president of the Senate was questioned as to whether his conclusions in connection with the so-called investigation of the four million dollars fraud were final he stated -

'I would have preferred the collaboration of all the members of the commission, including that of the other parties, to formulate conclusions, deriving them from the evidence submitted, which would have been the result of a joint study of the matter. Due to difficulties encountered in proceeding towards a joint study, I presented my own tentative conclusions, subject to change in the event the members present an interpretation, within thirty days, which will justify a modification of my tentative conclusions. I have made a careful study of the evidence. I neither have nor can have any interest in it but an opinion which is justified by that evidence. What would be of greatest interest to me is that, having made charges before the people of Puerto Rico, that the evidence would prove those charges to be correct. But it is not my duty to do what would interest me the most, it is my duty to act in accordance with the truth which is borne out by the evidence in the case,' the President of the Senate and of the Popular Democratic Party concluded by saying."

It is to be noted that LUIS MUNOZ MARIN is the director or editor of LA DEMOCRACIA.

In a pamphlet distributed in San Juan, Puerto Rico during October 1942 appears a picture of MUNOZ MARIN and a wealthy Puerto Rican, PEDRO JUAN SERRALLES, standing before the mirror in what is alleged to be the "Hall of Mirrors" in La Fortaleza, the Governor's Palace, San Juan, Puerto Rico. MUNOZ MARIN and SERRALLES have glasses raised to each other in a toast. In this same article appear the following words:

"PUERTO RICAN COUNTRY PEOPLE"

THIS PHOTOGRAPH IS TO BE PLACED ON THE MUNOZ MARIN TABLET

"The President of the Popular Party, LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, fraternizes with sugarman PEDRO JUAN SERRALLES, raising their glasses in a toast in an ostentatious 'fiesta' at the Fortaleza in the Salon of the Mirrors.

The Academic Redemptor, LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, clinks his glass with millionaire PEDRO JUAN SERRALLES, whom he attacked cruelly prior to the last elections, celebrating the triumph of perfidy and deceit to the harmony of music in an atmosphere of perfumed aristocracy. The 'jibaros' up in the mountains await bread with their mouths open, and await in their humble homes the return of the man, who at their homes raised glasses with them in a toast, talking of social justice.

Irony of destiny. Prior to elections, LAND, BREAD, and LIBERTY were constantly rung in the ears of the country people. After the elections, aristocratic 'fiestas', champagne, music, flowers, and millionaires. The war against misery has been converted into an understanding with the capitalists and into a toast to the permanent bread, and material comfort of MUNOZ MARIN

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and his group of theorists and academic wise men."

The following article concerning MUNOZ MARIN appeared in LA VOZ DE MARINO, San Juan, Puerto Rico, October 24, 1942:

"Don LUIS MUNOZ MARIN

The most outstanding leader of Confusionism in Puerto Rico, ally of Governor TUGWELL in the great task of ruining Puerto Rico and creating confusion and panic in industry, commerce and banking, in order to take advantage of this panic and state of national emergency and conduct the ideological experiments in preparation for the Communist Republic, which cards will be played by the Popular Party after the 1944 elections. It appears that the National Administration has begun to realize these political strategies, and a Congressional Committee will come to Puerto Rico to investigate and determine who are the true democrats and who speculate on democracy in an attempt to lead the people into an ideological change which will surely result in their misfortune for centuries."

The following was taken from the "Economic Review", San Juan, Puerto Rico, the issue of June, 1939:

"Son of the Puerto Rican leader LUIS MUNOZ-RIVERA. President of the Popular Democratic Party. President of the Senate of Puerto Rico. Writer and journalist. In his youth, a poet. Divided the Liberal Party, founded by don ANTONIO BARCELO, and carried the majority of the electoral vote of that group. In two years has accomplished the extraordinary task of founding, organizing, and leading into power a new political group, an accomplishment which is without parallel in our history. In the last legislature, he not only succeeded in having approved all fundamental legislation which was object of debate and public offers in the last elections, but he also succeeded in having this legislation made into laws by obtaining Governor SWOPE's signature. His social ideology is radical. His political ideology, insofar as Puerto Rico is concerned, was for independence in the Liberal Party and at the beginning of the Popular Democratic Party. At the present time he has silenced all reference to the political status of Puerto Rico. He has a brilliant and dialectic mind, with rare powers of persuasion. In spite of his Latin heritage, he displays the coldness of the Saxon race. Speaks English as well as he does Spanish. Does not worry about personal economic problems. Is apparently not ambitious about improving. Whatever the final outcome of his policies will be, the less fortunate classes in Puerto Rico will owe him an invaluable measure of defense and support. Among these classes are, especially, teachers, police, chauffeurs, and all workers. He is an enemy of the capitalists. He is married to an American woman, who is working at the University of Puerto Rico.

The following are excerpts from a speech given by MUNOZ MARIN January 17, 1943. The speech was made over several local radio stations in Puerto Rico.

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"WHILST Satan's hordes, as Hitler is referred to by Vice-President WALLACE, are being held back, Satan attempts infiltration into the Congress of the United States in order to hold back the Democratic forces in Puerto Rico. But let us not be unjust even with Congressman CRAWFORD who was the individual who presented the resolution I am talking about. CRAWFORD is an instrument of the Nazi-Fascist, anti-Democratic forces in Puerto Rico. CRAWFORD did not invent that resolution. I do not want to relieve Mr. CRAWFORD of his responsibility in the matter. Because he is responsible. I want the responsibility of each individual to be clear to the people of Puerto Rico."

"Representative CRAWFORD is part of a high Democratic organization which is directing the struggle for Democracy. Because of the fact that he has presented his resolution against democracy in Puerto Rico, he is responsible for risking the meaning of democracy in Latin America and in the world; he is responsible for the fact that people may think that democracy is a farce. Those who induced Representative CRAWFORD to act as he has are producing two potential results - contradict in Puerto Rico the postulates of war for democracy in the minds of Latin America and of the world....."

".....the same as if you, who are listening to me, did not exist; the same as if your wishes were as ineffectual as the howling of a dog, or of the wishes of a German faced with Hitler's tyranny. The mask has been removed. What the reactionary forces want - according to the resolution presented through CRAWFORD - is to spit on your democratic dignity. What the reactionary forces want, according to their resolution presented through CRAWFORD, is to spit on your democratic dignity. What the reactionary forces want, according to their resolution presented through CRAWFORD, is for the democratic efforts to come to an end."

The following information is taken from a signed statement given by CRISTOBAL VEGA ROSARIO, former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico pertaining to the Confederacion General de Trabajadores (CGT)-(General Confederation of Workers):

"I have not yet mentioned as I should how we worked to swing the labor vote over to the Popular Democratic Party. We, the Communists, were to conduct propaganda among the masses in order to bring the Populists into power. This was in accordance with a Party resolution.

"Our connection with the Popular Party was so close that we, the Communists, attended all of their meetings and assemblies, and skillfully took advantage of every opportunity to pass resolutions of a "communistic character," and to conduct the appropriate propaganda with the more progressive members of the Popular Party in an attempt to get them to join our ranks."

"The General Confederation of Labor (CGT) was the main support of the

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Communist Party and as such was used for propaganda purposes for the Popular Democratic Party. Our cry was for BREAD, LAND, and LIBERTY. This triptych has always been a part of the literature of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, and so that everyone may know this, and so that Mr. LUIS MUNOZ MARIN may know it also, I want to say here that those three words were brought into Puerto Rico by the Communists, and not by Mr. LUIS MUNOZ MARIN. That war-cry of BREAD, LAND, and LIBERTY was lent to the Popular Democratic Party by the Communist Party and they usurped it. DEMOCRATIC POPULAR PARTY - POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTY - who will say that they do not mean the same thing? Democratic and Popular was the united front of the anti-imperialistic struggle of the Communist Party.

"It was from this united front with its watchword of BREAD, LAND, and LIBERTY that LUIS MUNOZ MARIN got the name of his Party, and part of the program of the Communist Party was used by MUNOZ MARIN as a decoy to attract the Puerto Rican worker. That was the time, as ALBERTO SANCHEZ would tell us, a short time ago, when Mr. LUIS MUNOZ MARIN would call the General Headquarters of the Communist Party at #27 Cruz Street, San Juan, every once in a while. We, the Communists, were the ones who showed the greatest amount of daring in the formation of the new Popular Democratic Party, and taught the masses to listen to the preachings of LUIS MUNOZ MARIN. In all the towns where small groups of the Communist Party members existed, these same groups would be found on the list of officers of the Popular Democratic Party of that town. The Populists used our tactics and our work to take over our people, and then threw our committee members out. Our activities and will to fight to give our people a party which would be free of the corporations and which would belong to the people, were tremendous and there is no doubt that the Communists were the ones who worked the hardest toward the success of the Popular Democratic Party."

"Following this policy, prominent communist leaders took part in the 1940 political campaign of the Popular Party. Among them were Dr. JOSE A. LANAUZE ROLON (President of the Municipal Committee of the Communist Party in Ponce, Puerto Rico), and ELMER ELLSWORTH of Cidra, Puerto Rico, owner of the recreation center known as "Treasure Island" and an intimate friend of LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, president of the Popular Party. MUNOZ MARIN very frequently visited the above-mentioned place owned by ELLSWORTH, who is a secret member and fellow traveler of the Communist Party."

PENDING

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UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

THE SAN JUAN FIELD DIVISION:

AT SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO:

Will re-contact [REDACTED] 57C  
for additional information in regard to LUIS MUNOZ MARIN.

PENDING

INFORMANTS

b7C, b7D

T-1

[REDACTED]

T-2

[REDACTED]

San Juan, Puerto Rico.

b7C

T-3

[REDACTED]

OGA

T-4

[REDACTED]

b7C

T-5

[REDACTED]

Santurce, Puerto Rico.

T-6

[REDACTED]

Villagrufe Apartments, Santurce, Puerto Rico.

b7C  
b7D

T-7

[REDACTED]

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO**

**8170** SAN JUAN FILE NO. 100-302

REPORT MADE AT <b>SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>8/2/43</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>6/21/43</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>NIXON BUTT, JR.</b> <span style="float: right;">jbg</span>
TITLE <b>JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN; THE POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF PUERTO RICO</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>CUSTODIAL DETENTION (R)</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

MUNOZ MARIN, President Puerto Rico Senate, on 6-18-43 claimed in statement to newspapers that the Congress of the U.S. had no moral right to send Congressional Investigating Committee or any committee to Puerto Rico to investigate conditions in P. R. Informant believes this might be first step on part of MUNOZ MARIN in a campaign to gain independence for P. R. Informant states that the independence issue will probably be MUNOZ MARIN'S main platform in his political campaign of 1944.

- C -

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

**DATE 3-9-00 BY SP4 bja/mc**  
**446101**

**REFERENCES:**

Bureau File No. 100-5745.  
Report of Special Agent NIXON BUTT, JR.  
dated 4-1-43 at San Juan, Puerto Rico.

**DETAILS:**

T-1, known to be thoroughly reliable and loyal, stated that on June 18, 1943, JOSE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, President of the Puerto Rican Senate, had issued a statement to the newspapers of Puerto Rico and had sent a note to the HELL COMMITTEE to the effect that the Congress of the United States had no moral right to send an investigating committee of any kind to Puerto Rico to investigate conditions in Puerto Rico.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>J. M. Lutz</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
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T-1 stated that he believes this might be the first step on the part of MUNOZ MARIN to gain independence for Puerto Rico. T-1 stated further that MUNOZ MARIN would probably use the independence issue as his major platform in the Insular political campaign of 1944.

In view of the fact that all background investigation has been completed in this case and there being no remaining active investigation, this case is being placed in a closed status. In the event that any pertinent information of interest is received in the future, the Bureau will be kept informed.

- C L O S E D -

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INFORMANT

T-1

b7C

[REDACTED]

Puerto Rico

San Juan, Puerto Rico